Investigating the Online Presence of Immigration Organizations: Understanding the Role of Social Justice and Technical Communication

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the University of Minnesota

by

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates how immigration organizations in the US use their online presence to disseminate information. Immigration organizations are typically non-profit organizations whose mission involves helping migrants (whether with legal services, or any number of other services). This dissertation contributes to the conversations on social justice in technical and professional communication (TPC) by focusing on an often overlooked area in TPC research: migration and migrants in the US. This project contributes to the intersection of TPC and migration by investigating how immigration organizations use certain key online spaces and the information they share there. To begin, I first identified a network of national immigration organizations through hyperlinks. This network allowed me to identify two key organizations to further study, namely Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) and US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). I then studied the website of each organization, focusing on their content and targeted audiences. Finally, I studied their Twitter accounts, focusing on content, targeted audiences and tweets' metadata (including frequency of tweets, replies and retweets). Combining the results from the website analysis and Twitter analysis, I discuss the implications of the study, including voice, power and privilege, and audience engagement. Finally, I discuss the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the study and its implications for immigration organizations' dissemination of information in online spaces.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Migration has existed for millennia. Migrants have long turned to various online spaces for information, including websites and social media (Emmer, Kunst & Richter, 2020; Fiedler, 2019). While technical and professional communication (TPC) scholars have made some forays into understanding migrants' uses of technical documents (Evia & Patriarca, 2012; Vieira, 2011; Whitney, 2013), no study to date focuses on how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information. In particular, technical and professional communication researchers have not explored the deployment of information and help through immigration organizations' websites and social media accounts. Given that TPC studies documents in their myriad forms (Blythe, Lauer & Curran, 2014; Rude, 2009), it is imperative to bring the skills of TPC to study these organizations' websites and Twitter accounts so that we can gain a better understanding of the online resources available to immigrants.

But what are immigration organizations? As a brief preview (I discuss this in more depth later in the chapter), immigration organizations are typically non-profit organizations whose mission involves helping migrants (whether with legal services, or any number of other services). For example, two immigration organizations, Catholic Charities and Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS), both help refugees, migrants and asylum seekers settle down in the US by offering a broad range of services, including legal services. So, immigration organizations are the main organizations most migrants will encounter if they are in need of help as a result of their immigration status in the US.

In this dissertation, I first conduct a hyperlink network analysis (which is a form of social network analysis) of national immigration organizations to provide an overview of the network of national immigration organizations in the US. Then, focusing on two key immigration organizations (i.e. organizations central to the network), I examine both their websites and their Twitter accounts to understand the resources they offer through these media. In particular, I draw from the literature on social justice, social network analysis, social media analysis, web design and content strategy, to study these organizations' websites and Twitter accounts. Thus, through this dissertation, I study how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information.

In this chapter, I start by offering a discussion of my positionality in this research. I then present a brief overview of migration and immigration policies in the US. Then, I discuss the connection between migration and technical and professional communication (TPC). Finally, I delve into the research questions guiding this dissertation, the rationale behind the dissertation and a brief overview of immigration organizations in the US.

Positionality - Why Study Migration?

I have been an international student since I first came to the US in 2010 for undergraduate studies. This was my first experience being a long-term international immigrant, staying in the destination country for several months at a time. As an international student, I've had to navigate the F-1 student immigration process along with immigration documents and requirements. I was fortunate enough to have the support of the universities I've been attending to help me through this process. Their support was essential as I moved through the immigration process for F-1 students.

Throughout my years in the US, whenever I'd had questions about my status as an F-1 student, I've had access to universities' offices for international students to provide guidance (such as the University of Minnesota's International Student and Scholar Services). However, I've found myself turning to the Internet to answer most of my questions instead of contacting these services. Googling questions provides instant answers, often from reliable sources like US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) or other universities' resource pages for international students.

This behavior was the launchpad for this study. I was curious to find out what resources other migrants (i.e. not F-1 or J-1 students) have access to online. That is, I was curious to find out how organizations who serve migrants deploy their online presence (through their websites and social media accounts) to provide information.

As an immigrant myself, I am deeply invested in research that can help other immigrants. As a technical communicator, I am particularly invested in how technical and professional communication can better serve immigrants as well as how studies involving immigrants and immigration can help us improve technical communicators' knowledge of digital communication in the age of social justice. As an immigrant and a woman of color in this climate where immigration is at the heart of political discourses, with a strong anti-immigrant rhetoric from certain political and media spheres, I am in a position of vulnerability. However, I acknowledge that I also occupy a position of privilege as an academic with the powerful institutional support of a university like the University of Minnesota. As someone who comes from an upper middle class background with ready access to higher education, I am well aware that I have access to resources that other migrants might not have. Despite this complex positionality or

perhaps because of it, I believe I can successfully bring technical and professional communication to the field of immigration as well as bring insights from immigration to TPC.

Migration Overview

Throughout human history, migration has been constant. People migrate for various reasons, including escaping conflicts, fleeing the effects of climate change and environmental disasters, and looking for better economic and social opportunities (Reed, Ludwig & Braslow, 2016, p. 609-610). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) published the following figure (Figure 1.1) in their 2018 Global Migration Indicators report to show worldwide migration statistics, using data from the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA).

Figure 1.1

Number of International Migrants in 2017

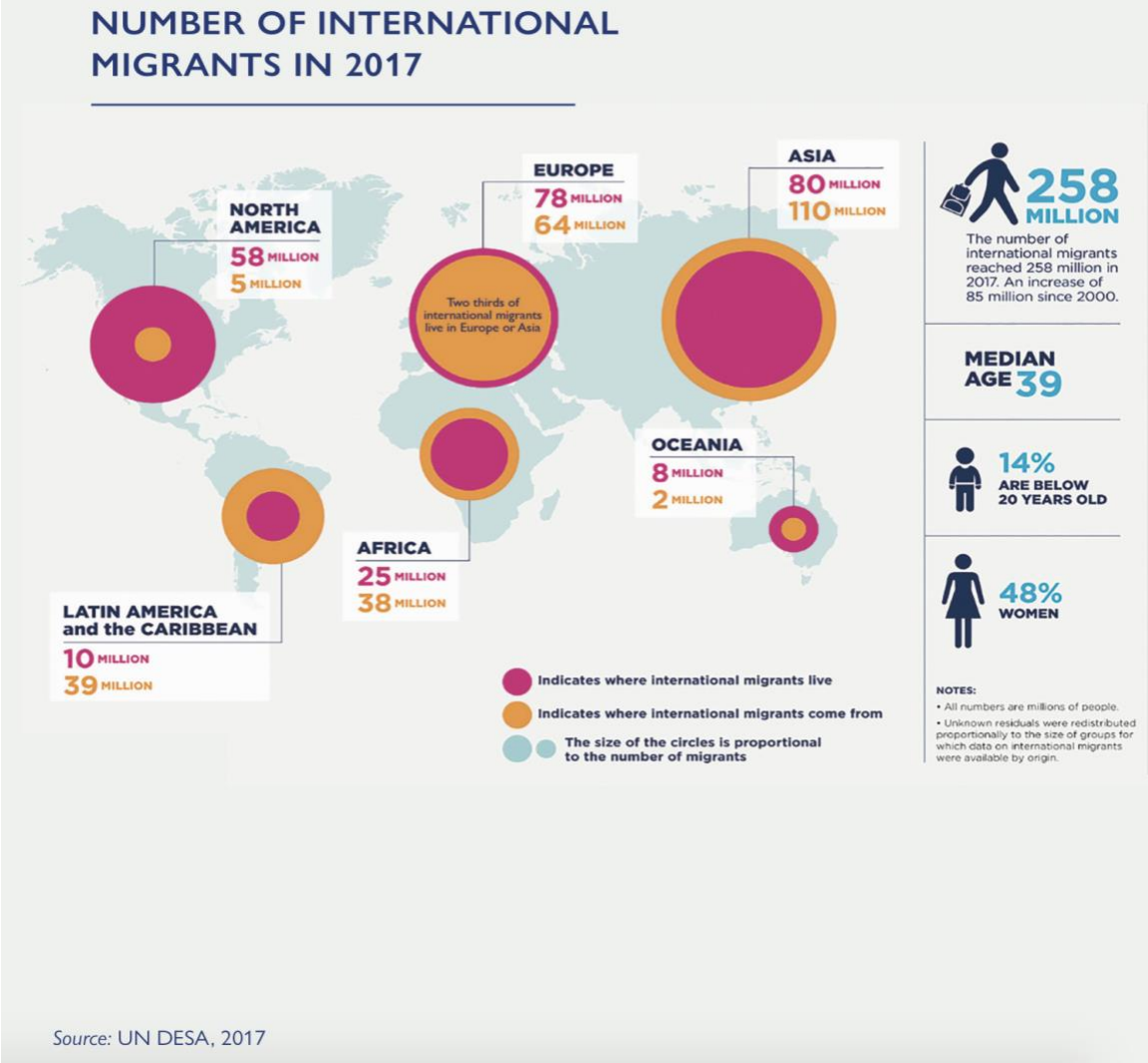


Figure 1.1 shows where most migrants come from and where they live. Bakewell, de Haas, Castles, Vezzoli and Jónsson (2009) noted that "the majority of migrants that have settled in Europe, Asia and Africa – the three regions that generate about 80 percent of global migrants – have moved within their own region" (p. 6-7). Therefore, the perception that there are large numbers of migrants moving from Africa and Asia to the US, Europe and Australia is incorrect. In fact, most migrants tend to settle in neighboring countries. While this is true for most migrants, there is a portion of migrants who settle in countries that they think can better address their needs (e.g. economic migrants). The

media tends to focus disproportionately on those migrants who leave their home countries for developed countries in the Global North like the US, France, UK, Italy, Germany and Australia.

It is a kairotic moment for technical and professional communicators to turn their attention to migration because migration is at the center of the political discourse of many countries. It is also a kairotic moment for TPC because of our renewed focus on social justice in the field, which focuses on marginalized populations (Jones & Walton, 2018). While we have unique skills (especially with examining texts and the work they do) to bring to the topic of migration, we also need to turn to the foundational work that sociologists, economists and others have done in the area of migration to gain an understanding of the field of migration.

Definitions for Immigration

Immigrants is a broad catch-all term that comprises many different categories of migrants. Common terms that show up repeatedly in US media are: immigrants, undocumented immigrants (or 'illegal immigrants' as some pejoratively call undocumented immigrants), asylum seekers, and refugees. While immigrants is a convenient term for generalization, it is important for researchers and policy makers to distinguish between the different categories of immigrants. Each migrant category has its own set of international and national policies to which immigrants in that category must adhere to. Similarly, each category has its own set of protections that have been set by the international community and individual countries.

Before delving into the literature on migration, I first need to define some key terms. Bilsborrow (2016) defined migration as the "spatial movement of a person which

requires two things: (1) a change in the place of usual residence, which also involves (2) crossing a recognized political/administrative border" (p. 111). Migration can involve internal or international migration. The International Organization for Migration defined a migrant as:

> any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is.

Two key groups of migrants are refugees and asylum seekers. The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR) follows the 1951 Refugee Convention in defining a refugee as: "someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion." Therefore, refugees are often seen as forced migrants. Note that refugees are not synonymous with asylum seekers. The latter is defined as "a person applying for refugee status but whose application has not yet been ruled upon" (Bilsborrow, 2016, p.114). These distinctions are legally important because they influence the kinds of resources and rights afforded to an individual. For instance, refugees are entitled to the protection of the host country state, as well as to receive temporary aid from UNHCR, and sometimes even the host country government, and to seek employment. However, asylum seekers are not entitled to assistance or legal employment while their status is being determined by the host country government. If asylum seekers are denied asylum, they can and often are deported.

Beyond refugees and asylum seekers, there are various other groups that need to follow the particular laws/rules applying to them, such as migrants who have Temporary Protected Status (TPS), seasonal migrants (e.g. workers who migrate for harvesting season and then return home), migrants under Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and others. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, I use the terms that most commonly occur on organizations' websites, which are 'immigrants,' 'refugees,' and 'asylum seekers.' In the following chapters, I will discuss the stated audiences of various immigration organizations.

Because of the different categories of migrants, one issue that researchers face when studying migration is the conflation of various terms. Several scholars have tried to use clear definitions of various types of migrants even as others have pointed out the difficulty of doing so. In discussing the difficulty of distinguishing between refugees and other migrants in some situations, Long (2015) noted that "'refugees' and 'migrants' are often the same people" (p. 3). For example, refugees may sometimes pursue "irregular secondary migration after being granted refugee status, in search of economic and sometimes even basic physical security" because of the economic and mobility restrictions placed on refugees by many countries (p. 3).

Unfortunately, current international and national policies still treat certain categories of migrants differently than they do others. For example, while many governments argue in favor of protecting refugees, there are not many advocates at the state level for migrants labeled as 'undocumented immigrants.' Given this overlap among categories even as policies treat categories as distinct, I detail how immigration organizations treat these different categories in their discussion of their audiences and

resources provided. Technical and professional communication can contribute to these national and international discourses on migrants as well as the field of migration given the field's focus on texts (broadly defined) and the work that texts do.

Immigration Policies in the US

In the US, each administration implements their own policies on immigration. This dissertation's work spans over two administrations: the Trump administration (2017-2021) and the Biden administration (2021-2025). In recent years, the Trump administration made its own immigration policies, the most infamous one being 'building the border wall' to prevent undocumented immigrants from Latin America to enter the US. The Trump administration's policies have had several impacts on immigrant communities, affecting different categories of immigrants.

One of these changes was the operations conducted by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). ICE, an agency created in 2003, increased its efforts in deporting undocumented immigrants through immigration raids. For example Kaul (2019) reported in *MinnPost* that "between 2016 and 2017, the number of ICE arrests increased from 111,000 to 144,000 nationally, and from 1,000 to 1,600 in Minnesota." The raids that ICE has been conducting have created a climate of fear among immigrants (see Dickerson, Del Real and Bosman's 2019 *NYTimes* article). ICE maintains 'sensitive locations,' which are areas where ICE avoids enforcement actions. However, these sensitive locations do not always feel safe to immigrants. ICE noted that:

> Enforcement actions may occur at sensitive locations in limited circumstances, but will generally be avoided. ICE officers and agents may conduct an enforcement action at a sensitive location if there are exigent circumstances, if

> other law enforcement actions have led officers to a sensitive location, or with prior approval from an appropriate supervisory official. (ICE's "FAQ on Sensitive Locations and Courthouse Arrests")

While ICE states that it avoids enforcement actions in sensitive locations, this has not stopped enforcement actions that have felt too close to these sensitive locations for comfort. For example, ProPublica's Hannah Dreier (2018) related the story of Alex, a Honduran high schooler and asylum seeker, who was arrested in his home by ICE after getting in trouble at his Long Island school for doodling what school officials and ICE have taken for MS-13 gang symbols. Similarly Dennis Rivera, another Honduran high schooler in Houston, had to face ICE after being arrested for pushing another student who was bullying him for being an immigrant at school. Stories like Alex's and Dennis Rivera's have been peppering the media's headlines (see Dreier, 2018). Similarly, while ICE can legally operate in courthouses, their actions there are controversial and have created fear in immigrant communities (see for example Feshir, 2018).

The Trump administration's crackdown on undocumented immigrants along the Southern US border has also led to devastating consequences for migrants. While ICE operated under a 'catch and release' policy for families apprehended at the Southern border under the Obama administration, the Trump administration moved away from this model. The Trump administration separated families and put immigrant children in horrific situations in detention facilities. Images of children kept in cages by ICE shocked the nation when they emerged in 2018 (e.g. see the *Guardian* article "Separation at the border: children wait in cages at south Texas warehouse", 2018). Because of the way that they have separated children from their parents, ICE has so far not been successful in

reuniting many families. The Trump administration also relentlessly pushed for a border wall along the Southern border. During the standoff with Congress during the government shutdown in late 2018-early 2019, President Trump tried to tie the fates of DACA recipients with funding for the border wall (see Pramuk, 2019). In so doing, the administration created a climate of uncertainty for DACA recipients as well as undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers. With its crackdown on migrants along the Southern border, the Trump administration sought to not admit asylum seekers who had not sought asylum in other countries crossed on their journeys to the US (see, for example, Hernandez and Miroff, 2019). As Hernandez and Miroff (2019) suggested, immigration advocates feared that this would push would-be asylum seekers into choosing other options than entering the US via legal ports of entry.

Even refugees, who belong to a category of migrants who have originally benefited from US protection, have suffered with the restrictions that the Trump administration tried to impose on the countries of origin of refugees. The media widely called these restrictions the 'Muslim ban,' as the restrictions applied to countries with predominantly Muslim populations, including Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. While several states have filed legal action to protest this ban, the Supreme Court ultimately allowed a revised version of the original ban to go into effect (National Immigration Law Center, 2019). The Trump administration also lowered the refugee cap, which is the total number of refugee admissions allowed per year, for 2020 (see MPI, 2019). Combined with a lower processing ability, this lower cap is leading to drastic reductions in the number of refugees being resettled to the US per year. Voluntary agencies (which help in refugee resettlement in the US) have felt the impacts of these

cuts, with Catholic Charities (who manage voluntary agencies throughout the US) closing their Minneapolis branch in 2018.

While each administration sets its own immigration agenda, the Trump administration was particularly harsh on immigrants. Their agenda came after months (and even years) of fear mongering about immigrants from public discourse (for example, from certain media outlets and political figures). Worldwide, immigration issues are at the forefront, from Brexit to the election of President Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil. Therefore, analyzing how technical and professional communication can contribute to the national and international discourse on migrants as well as the field of migration now is particularly kairotic.

Migration and Technical and Professional Communication

Given the growing number of migrants worldwide and in the US (Coleman, 2006), it is imperative to turn our research lens to migrants and their needs. Migration is an interdisciplinary field, with sociologists, economists, and others having researched and discussed various key aspects of migration (Hollifield, 2020). However, based on this preliminary literature review, I have not located studies that examine how immigration organizations use their online presence to benefit immigrants. Before I turn to a discussion of the role technical and professional communication can play with immigration organizations, I offer a brief definition of technical and professional communication.

Definition of Technical and Professional Communication (TPC)

In order to understand how technical and professional communication can contribute to migration research and the unique communication challenges faced by

immigrant populations, we first need to understand what technical and professional communication is. This is not an easy task. As Frith (2014) wrote, "the variety of tasks that fit under the umbrella of technical and professional communication can make it difficult to define the field or describe the professional roles of technical communicators in organizations" (p. 288). For instance, Blythe, Lauer and Curran (2014) wrote of the variety of job titles technical communicators can take from their positions in areas such as editing and publishing, information technology, public relations, grant writing, and project management (p. 272). With the rise in online communication, technical communicators have taken on even more varied roles, such as that of social media marketing manager, SharePoint engineer, social media consultant, content strategist, knowledge base coordinator, and Web content editor (p. 272). This shows that technical writing industry practitioners perform a wide range of tasks. Looking beyond industry practitioners further widens the reach of technical and professional communication. To attempt a true definition of technical and professional communication then, we should turn to its history, research methods, theories and questions, as well as practice.

While technical and professional communication has its roots in many ancient civilizations, we can trace our contemporary sense of technical and professional communication in the US through its relatively recent history, starting with World War II. As Connors (1982) mentioned, post-World War II, the market was flooded with products needing documentation to help consumers use them. The need for technical writers started rising at that point. To respond to that need, programs teaching technical writing started forming. This brief history shows the rise of technical writing in the US. In other countries, however, technical writing has different roots. As Minacori and

Veisblat (2010) noted, technical writing seems to have emerged from translation in France, especially around the time of the creation of the European Union when translation became much needed (p. 743). In each case though, technical and professional communication emerged or grew to respond to a demand for writers who could write product manuals (in the US) and translate documents (in Europe).

Since then, technical and professional communication has evolved into something more complex. One of the articles that best captures the complexity of technical and professional communication is Rude's (2009) article in which she mapped out the research questions of the field. Her article is most salient for the definition of technical and professional communication because, as she put it, "the identity of any academic field is based in part on the research it conducts" (p. 175). For Rude, the questions we ask in technical and professional communication are variations of this central question: "How do texts (print, digital, multimedia; visual, verbal) and related communication practices mediate knowledge, values, and action in a variety of social and professional contexts?" (p. 176). She went on to trace four areas of related questions, namely, disciplinarity, pedagogy, practice, and social change. The key questions she asked for each area are the following:

Disciplinarity: How shall we know ourselves? What are our definitions, history, status, possible future, and research methods? (p. 187)

Practice: How should texts be constructed to work effectively and ethically? What are best practices of text development and design? What design practices include international users and users with disabilities? How can content be managed for reuse? These questions concern "two broad issues: text design (including usability) and

procedures for developing and managing information (collaboration, management, cross-cultural teamwork, structured authoring, single sourcing)" (p. 198-199).

Pedagogy: What should be the content of our courses and curriculum? How shall we teach students best practices, history, and possibilities? How shall we negotiate competing claims for content and pedagogical methods and compete for academic resources? Rude goes on to write: "These questions may concern course design or be more conceptual, exploring, for example, literacy or rhetoric as they influence curriculum. Political questions relate to the negotiation for intellectual space within the academy and the academic–practitioner negotiation of curriculum" (p. 193).

Social Change: How do texts function as agents of knowledge development, action, or change? Rude (2009) went on to write:

> Questions take us beyond the boundaries of our own courses, history, and practices to social, cultural, and political issues and to the nature of knowledge and meaning…. [They] presume that a field of study and practice contributes not just to self-perpetuation and best practices in its own area but also to the good of society. The field uses [its] knowledge … to solve problems in social contexts. Pursuing questions about the role of writing in human activity, particularly as writing enables negotiation and policy making, takes the field to its roots in rhetoric, developed as a means for free people to negotiate values and power and to take action. (p. 202)

As we can see from the questions asked in each area, the goals of technical and professional communication are broad. However, there are some overlaps between the areas. For instance, the tools we choose to teach students in courses go on to inform the

tasks they do in practice in the workplace. The reverse is also true. The changes taking place in industry influence the ways we teach our courses. Andersen (2014), for example, noted that "technical communication practice has undergone what Hackos (2009) and Dicks (2009) have called a ''seismic shift''; this shift is the move away from a document-based to a topic-based approach to developing, managing, and publishing content" (p. 116). Such a change brings an important question to pedagogy: what tools must we teach our students so that they can adapt to this topic-based approach to creating and managing information? As Rude (2009) noted, such a question would also be influenced by what resources schools have and the ability of teachers to work with these new technological tools as well (p. 198). Similarly, disciplinarity, practice, pedagogy and social change might influence the research done in any of the four areas.

Beyond the wide range of research areas, Rude (2009) pointed out another difficulty in defining technical and professional communication: the question of power. She noted that technical writing (and English as well) lies on the margins of the university, especially in relation to fields that are seen as commanding more power, like engineering and business (p. 177). In addition, technical writing has traditionally been associated with practice. Yet, as she noted, "academics know that defining a field by practice keeps them on the margins of power" (p. 188). She traces how academics have been trying to redefine the field to help it gain more power by calling for "reshaping," "revising," "re-envisioning," "remapping," "reconfiguring," and "rethinking" technical writing (p. 188). A definition of technical and professional communication, then, involves understanding the power structures in which the field is involved in academia and industry. Additionally, it involves redefining power structures by empowering

technical communicators and audiences (i.e. users). For example, the social justice approach in technical and professional communication aims at understanding and subverting these power structures (Jones, Moore & Walton, 2016; Walton, 2018).

I'll now bring the different elements mentioned above together. To start, I'd say that I agree with Rude (2009) in that our strength comes from the very multiplicity of areas of research, teaching and practice. While we can engage in work that seems so different, we should all have "a shared sense of our common goals in research" and this sense will help "contribute to the field's visibility, identity, status, and sustainability" (p. 207). While we have different sites for our work, we do share common interests linked to our focus on particular texts. This interest in particular texts makes us unique, differentiating us from sister fields (like composition and rhetoric, journalism, and English). As Rude (2009) put it: "no one else pays such close attention to texts used to get work done, particularly work that requires specialized knowledge" (p. 206). Thus, while we share commonalities with sister fields, our main difference lies in the ways we interact with and study texts that get work done. Despite (or perhaps regardless of) this particular focus though, I would argue that technical and professional communication remains a broad and complex field that is a wonderful combination of practice, teaching and research.

To conclude this section, I turn briefly to the social justice approach in technical and professional communication (discussed at length in the Literature Review chapter). Within the broad definition of technical and professional communication provided, I locate the social justice approach in technical and professional communication within the 'social change' category discussed above (from Rude's work). While research sites and

research participants (e.g. Agboka, 2013; Gonzales, 2018; Rose 2016) might vary, the goal for each work is the same: to reduce social inequalities. The social justice lens in technical and professional communication, then, can help reduce power differentials around the creation, use and distribution of texts.

Migration in Technical and Professional Communication Work

Because of technical and professional communication's focus on texts and the work that texts do, technical communicators can play a key role in migration research. Since technical and professional communication can speak to both technology and the workplace/professional organizations, it is particularly well suited to study the online spaces of immigration organizations. Social justice in technical and professional communication, with its focus on marginalized communities and issues of power and equity, is also particularly well suited for studying migration. So, technical and professional communicators can bring our work on social justice, social network analysis, social media analysis, web design and content strategy to migration research. That work has already started in some ways in different areas of technical and professional communication (discussed in depth in the Literature Review chapter). For example, Evia and Patriarca (2012) discussed a case study involving the development of occupational safety documents meant for Latino construction workers with these workers' input. Similarly, Pigozzi (2018) studied informed consent forms for Latino adults in medical research settings. Whitney (2013), for his part, analyzed the portrayal of migrants in *The 2010 Citizens Clean Elections Voter Education Guide*, a document made available to the Arizona public prior to the 2010 state general elections. There are also numerous studies

on migrants' literacies (Canagarajah, 2011; Cardinal, Gonzales & Rose, 2020; Gonzales, 2018; Leonard, 2017; Pennycook, 2007; Reynolds, 2000; Rose & Racadio, 2017).

However, there is still much work to be done in the area of migration. Given our unique technical and professional communication skills, especially our work in social justice, social network analysis, social media analysis, web design and content strategy, we can contribute much to better understanding how online spaces, such as websites and social media, can provide information, resources and help to immigrants looking to online sources of help. Similarly, doing more work with migrants will help technical and professional communication to contribute to the existing literature on social justice, web design and social media because of the uniqueness of communication within the context of migration. More importantly, it will help practitioners better understand how websites and social media work together to provide resources to immigrants and therefore help them to better serve this unique population. This topic is also particularly timely in the sense that migration has been at the heart of several national and international discussions. It is thus the right time to devote more time as technical communicators to this important and varied group of people.

Why the Focus on Immigration Organizations in the US?

I now turn to a brief discussion about this dissertation's focus on immigration organizations in the US. As discussed above, it is imperative that technical and professional communicators study the information immigration organizations provide in online spaces because migrants often turn to these online spaces for information before, during and after their migrations (Emmer, Kunst & Richter, 2020; Fiedler, 2019). As technical and professional communicators examine texts (broadly defined) in multiple

contexts, we are particularly well-suited to studying the kinds of information immigration organizations put out in these online spaces.

I should add here that, as I started this dissertation work, I originally wanted to work directly with migrants (through interviews) to understand how they used online spaces for information and textual resources. Unfortunately, I could not recruit participants for the study. So, I turned to immigration organizations themselves and their use of online spaces to disseminate information. After all, to fully understand migrants' use of online spaces, we need to understand 1) what kinds of information is already available in these spaces, and 2) what kinds of information migrants (broadly defined) seek in these spaces.

In this dissertation, I focus on the first point, i.e. understanding the kinds of information available in these spaces. Of course, that information can come from many sources, including immigration organizations and migrant social networks. Curran and Rivero-Fuentes (2003) draw on Hugo (1991), Massey (1990), and Massey, Alarcon, Durand and Gonzalez (1987) to define social networks in migration as "the links between residents in a community of origin and individuals who are living in another place or who previously migrated, regardless of their current residence" (p. 290). However, without migrant participants and/or access to these networks, it is difficult to gain an understanding of the information circulating in these networks.

So, the question I asked myself was: which sources should I examine? At this point in the research process, I turned to my own experiences as a migrant to guide my work. I often look for immigration information online from higher educational institutions (who presumably are reliable and trustworthy) and US Citizenship and

Immigration Services (USCIS - a government agency in charge of administering the US immigration system). Therefore, I inferred that other migrants might similarly turn to 'trustworthy' sources, such as those organizations whose missions focus on helping (in various ways, including legal ones) and advocating for migrants (i.e. immigration organizations). After all, several of these immigration organizations also operate as voluntary agencies with the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR, which is part of the US Department of Health and Human Services). Voluntary agencies are essentially ORR's official partners in providing assistance to refugees, asylees, unaccompanied children (i.e. children without an adult guardian), Cuban/Haitian entrants, Special Immigrant Visa holders, Amerasians, victims of trafficking, and survivors of torture (regardless of immigration status). So, if migrants readily turn to these immigration organizations for in-person help once they are in the US (e.g. language classes, legal advice and resources, or help with housing), then they might also turn to these organizations for help online before, during and after their migration. Since online information and resources can be so important to migrants (Emmer, Kunst & Richter, 2020; Fiedler, 2019), it is, thus, important to understand exactly what information and resources immigration organizations provide online and who they are meant for.

Immigration organizations can operate solely locally (i.e. statewide) or nationally. For example, The Florence Project is a nonprofit legal service organization that provides free legal and social services to immigrants in immigration custody in Arizona. Since the Florence Project operates solely in Arizona, it is considered a regional organization. The Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS), on the other hand, provides legal and social services to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants, and operates nationally. For the

purposes of this dissertation, I limit the analysis to national organizations for their wider national reach and for easier manageability. Since regional organizations often provide information on local contexts, they are less helpful to migrants coming into the US in a different state/region. Therefore, focusing on organizations that operate at the national level are the most promising to gain an understanding of the kinds of information available in online spaces.

Research Questions

Based on my review of the technical and professional communication literature on migrants, no study exists in which a technical communicator has specifically examined how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information. Given the growing number of immigrants worldwide and in the US, it is critical to discuss how immigration organizations deploy resources to those they endeavor to help, i.e. immigrants. This is especially critical now that the public discourse (e.g. in the media, and in political speeches) focuses on immigrants, with immigration becoming a contentious topic nationally and internationally. This is creating a climate of fear for immigrants (American Bar Association, 2018). In such an environment, it is imperative to understand the online resources to which current immigrants have access, especially since migrants turn to online spaces for resources and information (Emmer, Kunst & Richter, 2020; Fiedler, 2019). For the purposes of this dissertation, I focus on the online resources that immigration organizations provide because this remains an area that is understudied for migration in the US. Since migrants use online resources and information to inform their migration before, during and after their migration, I focus on the help these organizations provide online. So, this dissertation addresses the following

central question: how do immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information?

In addition to this central question, companion questions include the following:

- How do immigration organizations form a network providing immigration information online?
- Focusing on a few select organizations' websites: what information do they contain? What are their stated purposes, features and display? Who are their target audiences?
- Focusing on a few select organizations' Twitter accounts: how do immigration organizations use their Twitter accounts? What information do their tweets contain? Who are their target audiences?
- How do these organizations' Twitter accounts function alongside their websites?

Goal of Dissertation

To reiterate, the goal of this dissertation is to examine how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information. I'm particularly interested in examining how such deployment targets migrants during their immigration journeys. To address this central question along with the follow-up questions discussed above, I draw on the work in social justice, social network analysis, social media analysis, web design and content strategy. These literatures are discussed at length in the literature review chapter.

This study contributes specifically to the areas of social justice, migration and technical and professional communication. I focus on the immigration organizations that

can help and support immigrants, a group of people who have been rather neglected so far in technical and professional communication. There are no studies in technical and professional communication to date that addresses the online presence of immigration organizations. Therefore, this study aims to address this gap by examining the websites and social media of a few key immigration organizations (please see the methods chapter for more details about the study design). As this dissertation sheds light on the information immigration organizations disseminate in online spaces, I hope it can help immigration organizations in their missions to better serve migrants, especially in these online spaces.

Rationale for Research

This is a particularly kairotic moment for technical communicators to turn their attention to immigrants and immigration. Immigration has been at the heart of political discourses in the US. TPC's focus on studying texts in different spaces is particularly helpful with examining the information that immigration organizations disseminate in online spaces, such as websites and social media. As I've described in the Immigration Policies in the US section above, the US has made several policy changes that directly impact migrants in recent years. Several federal/government decisions during the Trump administration have caused fear and confusion for many immigrants, requiring strong and clear communication from immigrant organizations. Immigrants, a non-homogeneous group, are also a growing population in the US. Therefore, as technical communicators, we should turn our attention to this group and their needs. While we have started that work as mentioned above, there is still much work left to be done.

Given the work that technical communicators have done in studying websites (e.g. Pauwels, 2012; Halvorson & Rach, 2012; Schriver, 2013) and social media and the information it can provide us (Bowdon, 2014; Breuch, 2018; Potts, 2013), we can draw from the literature in these areas (discussed in more depth in the literature review chapter) to study the websites and Twitter accounts of immigration organizations. In so doing, we can better understand the kind of resources that immigrants searching online can find. It will also help us understand ways to improve the dissemination of online information to immigrants.

Overview of Immigration Organizations in the US

In this last section, I offer some preliminary information into the immigration organizations that form the basis of this dissertation. As mentioned above, immigration organizations essentially aim to help migrants in some way. They are a rather varied group of organizations. Several have religious affiliations (although they help migrants of any faith). Some organizations focus on some categories of migrants over others, for example, focusing on refugee resettlement but not on undocumented immigrants. The range of services organizations offer often differ as well. Examples of services include language classes, legal services, and help with tasks/procedures like obtaining driving licenses. Finally, most immigration organizations in the US provide some description of their services in online spaces. But again, how organizations talk about their services online varies depending on organization and their own digital presence strategy. Given all these differences, it is difficult to describe immigration organizations without painting them with a broad brush.

But, to get back to the core of this dissertation's focus, immigration organizations also provide a range of other information online (I will explore these in more detail in later analytical chapters, namely the website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters). One of the most powerful types of information provided are migrant stories. For example, one immigration organization (Catholic Charities) included the story of a young immigrant, Darling Cerna, on its website (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2

Immigration Organization, Catholic Charities, Shares Migrant Story

This story starts with a picture of a smiling Darling Cerna with the church in the background. Then the article describes Ms. Cerna's immigration story as a DACA recipient. The story and picture helps put a face to the word 'immigrant'. Such stories presented on immigration organizations' websites help humanize migrants. They also help site visitors understand that immigration policies and rhetoric have consequences on real people who are not dissimilar to themselves. This example (Figure 1.2) gives us a

preview into the kinds of information and stories that immigration organizations can share on their websites. In the website analysis chapter in this dissertation, I will further explore the kinds of information two key immigration organizations share on their websites as well as the audiences they are targeting. As a reminder, the two key immigration organizations will be determined through the network analysis done in the organizational network analysis chapter.

Similarly, immigration organizations can share important information on Twitter. During the first few months of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, one immigration organization (Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, LIRS) tweeted the following: 'Thank you to all of our incredible and brave nurses! Nearly 25% are refugees and immigrants, but no matter where they come from, they're our heroes!' While anti-immigrant sentiments were running high amid the fears and frustrations of the pandemic, LIRS tweeted its support of the immigrant community to its numerous followers. This tweet also serves as a reminder that migrants contribute to the healthcare sector at a time when healthcare workers were much needed.

Another tweet from LIRS showcases their goal of helping migrants in detention centers (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3

Tweet from Immigration Organization, LIRS, About Migrants in Detention

This tweet, and many similar ones shared by immigration organizations and advocates, emphasize the organization's (i.e. LIRS') shared humanity with migrants. LIRS condemns the conditions in detention centers and presents the emotional, mental and physical difficulties immigrants in these centers face. This tweet is a direct quote from the article LIRS attached to the tweet from the website ourprism.org. The article was an interview with an immigrant in a detention center. Thus, LIRS is also amplifying that immigrant's story by sharing that interview with its Twitter audiences. These tweets give us a preview into the kinds of information that immigration organizations can share on social media, specifically Twitter. In the Twitter analysis chapter in this dissertation, I will further explore the kinds of information two key immigration organizations share on Twitter as well as the audiences they are targeting.

In the following chapters then, I explore how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information.

Dissertation Overview

In the following chapters, I provide a review of the literature guiding this dissertation, a description of the study's design and methodology, and analysis and discussion chapters, including an organizational overview analysis chapter, a website analysis chapter and a social media analysis chapter. Table 1.1 offers an overview of the rest of the dissertation.

Table 1.1

Overview of the Dissertation

Chapter Number	Chapter Title	Brief Overview
2	Literature Review	Detailed discussion of the following: ● Social Justice in TPC - key literature guiding the dissertation ● Culture and Intercultural Communication ● Social Network Analysis (focusing on Hyperlink Network Analysis) ● Content Strategy (for websites) ● Social Media Analysis (both in TPC and in the field of migration)
3	Methods	Description of methodology used for collecting and analyzing data for each analytical chapter (i.e. organizational network analysis, website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters). Key analyses: ● Hyperlink Network Analysis (used in chapter 4) ● Applied Thematic Analysis (used in chapters 5 and 6)

4	Organizational Network Analysis	Reporting and discussion of findings from hyperlink network analysis of selected US national immigration organizations ● Identification of two central immigration organizations to study in the website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters. These are: ○ Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service **(LIRS)** ○ US Citizenship and Immigration Services **(USCIS)**
5	Website Analysis	Reporting and discussion of findings from analyzing archived versions of the websites of the two key immigration organizations identified in the organizational network analysis chapter. This chapter offers insight into the following: ● Information LIRS' and USCIS' websites provide ● Audiences each website targets
6	Twitter Analysis	Reporting and discussion of findings from analyzing collected tweets from the two key immigration organizations identified in the organizational network analysis chapter. This chapter offers insight into the following: ● Information shared on Twitter by LIRS and USCIS ● Audiences each organization targets on Twitter
7	Implications and Conclusions	● Discussion of implications, including TPC implications, from combined findings of analytical chapters (i.e. implications for the overall online presence of immigration organizations) ○ Social justice ○ Voice, power, and privilege ○ Audience engagement ● Discussion of limitations ● Discussion of future research directions

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical frameworks informing this dissertation. The introduction chapter provided a brief overview of the state of immigration in the world and the US. In this chapter, I illustrate the literature that guides the proposed analysis of the collected data. This literature includes: social justice, intercultural communication, content structure, and social network analysis. Social justice and intercultural communication are threads that run throughout the dissertation. For my first analysis chapter, which involves the network analysis of immigration organizations, I will draw from the literature on social network analysis. For the second analysis chapter, which involves the analysis of the websites of key immigration organizations, I will draw on the literature from content strategy. Finally, for my analysis of the Twitter accounts of those same key immigration organizations, I will draw on the literature from social media analysis.

First, I turn to an overview of social justice in technical and professional communication (TPC) before discussing intercultural communication, social network analysis, content strategy and social media analysis.

Social Justice in Technical Communication

Social justice has been defined in various ways in different fields. Jones and Walton (2018) drew from Frey et al. (1996) to define social justice in technical communication thus:

> social justice research in technical communication investigates how communication, broadly defined, can amplify the agency of oppressed people—

> those who are materially, socially, politically, and/or economically under-resourced. Key to this definition is a collaborative, respectful approach that moves past description and exploration of social justice issues to taking action to redress inequities. As such, our definition of social justice is broad and encompasses action-oriented research and pedagogy that can inform and integrate civic engagement, participatory research and action research, and minority studies (e.g., feminist, queer, critical race, etc.). (p. 242)

Key to this definition is the idea of oppression. Walton (2016) argued that oppression disrespects the intrinsic worth of a person (p. 412). But what exactly is oppression? Young (2009) identified five faces of oppression, namely exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. Therefore, social justice aims at amplifying the agency of people who are under threat of exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. Or to use Walton's notion of intrinsic worth, social justice aims at amplifying the agency of people whose humanity is under threat.

Because of its focus on inequalities, social justice is also often associated with human rights. Ding and Savage (2012) drew on Merry (2006) to express this complexity, especially regarding human rights. They wrote:

> Legal anthropologist Merry (2006) describes how supposedly universal ''human rights language is . . . extracted from the universal and adapted to national and local communities'' (p. 39). As Merry says, ''Understanding how human rights circulate and are transplanted raises larger questions about how cultural life is changing in response to globalization and its deepening inequalities in wealth and

power. It is not clear how the spread of human rights institutions and discourses is reshaping these inequalities (p. 39).'' (p. 6)

There are five key points mentioned in the quote. First, the notion that human rights language is universal and can be applied to any community. Second, the deepening inequality caused by globalization. Third, the ways that cultural life in different communities is changing due to globalization. Fourth, the lack of understanding of the effect of the spread of human rights institutions on these inequalities. Finally, as mentioned above, human rights are, of course, closely associated with social justice. Therefore, social justice aims at reducing the inequalities in wealth and power that arise, among other situations, in increasingly globalized communities. When technical communicators discuss globalized communities, we inevitably need to discuss cultures. This is where theories of culture explored in intercultural communication and related fields come into play (discussed in the next section).

Various scholars have documented both the rise of social justice in TPC and its importance for the field. For instance, Rose (2016) noted that "by focusing on vulnerable populations and understanding their unique perspectives, [technical communicators] can help create more equitable access to services and systems" (p. 443). She illustrated this point by using a social justice approach to examine how bus passes affected marginalized communities. In her work, she used various qualitative methods as a type of design ethnography, which included participant observation, semi-structured group interviews and video diaries. She used these methods because "design ethnography creates the opportunity to understand the cultural and social context of everyday life to provide examples and rich descriptions that can inform the designs of technologies" (p. 434).

Therefore, social justice aims at reducing inequities in society through the way research, including design research, is conducted. Social justice work can rely heavily on postcolonial theories to guide these research practices. Drawing on Canagarajah (2006), Agboka (2014) noted the ways that researchers using a social justice approach might not necessarily use different methods but that their approaches to these methods are different and this difference matters (p. 319).

In his 2014 article, Agboka drew from decolonial methodologies to offer practical guidance for researchers using a social justice approach. He noted that decolonial methodologies can guide the sites researchers investigate as well as help them "reflect and actively interrogate [their] own research practices—including ways that [they] can be more reflexive in [their] choice of methods and positioning in the research project, and humbler in [their] interactions with participants" (p. 442). This reflection translated, for him, into the following direction:

> question our own assumptions; make participants active collaborators in research projects by positioning them—not as subjects/objects, but as equal participants; employ reflexive research methods; be critical of our own approaches; question our insider posture, even when we claim to be native to the research site; and be humble in our contacts with participants. (p. 299)

One key point in this quote is the fact that participants have power in these research processes. The goal is to destroy (or minimize as much as possible) any power differential between researcher and participant. As he later noted, in this kind of work, it is not the researcher 'giving voice' to the participants. Rather, I would frame it as a collaboration between researcher and participant, whereby the participant also has control

over the research in various ways. Agboka provided an example later in his article by showing how participants guided his research questions (or rather how his research questions changed as he worked with participants) and how they chose interview sites (p. 318;434).

To begin reflecting on our own practices as researchers, Agboka drew on Smith (1999) to characterize essential elements of decolonial approaches. He noted the following from her work:

> Decolonial approaches recognize:
>
> - the ever-increasing commitment to the recognition and realization of social justice;
> - equity and equality for all peoples, underpinned by social models of differences;
> - enhanced sensitivity to the role of discourse in constructing and framing identities and relationships; and
> - various consequences of globalization and of improved communications and technologies which have had the effect of shrinking the world and bringing people from far-flung places into closer contact with each other (p. 303)

Some of the elements listed in this quote are reminiscent of definitions of culture, especially culture as conceived in Appadurai (1996) and Hunsinger (2006) (see next section for a brief discussion of culture). Hence, I argue that research using a social justice approach, especially in intercultural settings, necessarily needs to address questions of power (which is at the heart of decolonial theories). Further, Chiu (2006)

noted that reflection in research works on three levels: self-reflexivity (which involves "thinking, doing and facilitating change" with our rationality, intuition and creativity), interpersonal-reflexivity (which aims at improving "our conversations and interconnectedness with others"), and collective reflexivity (which shows the "need for deepening social and political analysis that contributes to strategies for social change") (p. 199-200). Therefore, I argue that a researcher interested in social justice should include such reflection in their work, not only in the developmental phases of research but throughout as well.

A social justice lens is much needed in technical communication research, especially when we are working with marginalized or vulnerable communities, such as immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. In using a social justice lens in the research design (much as Rose (2016) did) as well as a guiding practice throughout the whole research process, we can ensure that we are minimizing reproduction of colonization of participants' communities, bodies and cultures. This is key in works which are centered around marginalized people's experiences. Therefore, while examining how immigration organizations deploy their online presence to help immigrants, I use a social justice lens to guide my work. Many social justice-oriented qualitative researchers often work directly with participants, sometimes in participatory studies (e.g. Rose, 2016). However, in building networks of immigration organizations, social media analysis and website analysis, such direct work seen with participants in participatory studies with human-centered design becomes difficult. This is especially true when the focus is on information that is published online and not on how people use that information.

This dissertation's goal of being oriented towards social justice is complicated by its lack of direct input from users. Even with the social media aspect of this dissertation, the focus is not on the input that users give organizations by responding to their tweets, but on the organizations' tweets. However, I believe that this does not mean that website analysis, Social Network Analysis (SNA) and social media analysis cannot be oriented towards social justice. It simply means that I need to apply the principles of justice guiding social justice research with these methods and data. One promising avenue is context. Context has been offered as a key component of social justice in cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary and cross-organizational environments (Walton & Jones 2013). I argue that context can also be an important factor in social justice-oriented non-participatory research. Examining contexts allows us to see how immigration organizations portray immigrants on their websites and social media accounts in terms of positionality, power and ability to act. However, this focus on context in such non-participatory designs has its own limitations. For instance, I do not conduct interviews with web design and maintenance teams of the immigration organizations' websites as well as their social media consultants. Therefore, there is minimal context around the creation and maintenance of the websites and Twitter accounts.

While applying social justice to non-participatory studies can be tricky, it can certainly be done. In this dissertation, I apply the principles guiding researchers using a social justice approach to the methods I use. I rely heavily on Petersen and Walton (2018), Rose (2016) and Agboka (2013). In particular, I focus on questions of inclusion and exclusion, lived experiences and positionality. In the methods chapter, I detail how I use these principles in my analysis.

In this section, I have provided a definition of social justice, examples of how it can be enacted in research, and explained why and how I hope to use it for this dissertation. In the following sub-section, I will turn to culture, which is an integral part of the intercultural communication literature.

Culture and Intercultural Communication

When discussing intercultural communication, it is important to understand 'culture.' Such discussion is necessary because of how culture impacts literacy events and our approaches to these situations. As Ding and Savage (2013) wrote: "too often, simplistic and static models of culture are used to guide approaches to communication and practice that appear fair and culturally sensitive but which may primarily rationalize exploitation [of others]" (p. 6). In working in intercultural contexts then, we should pay attention to how culture is being used, especially when engaging in social justice work. Having said this, culture has been a difficult concept to define for researchers in social science (Agboka, 2012, p. 163). In short, one key difference among the conceptions of culture available to technical communicators is the level of fluidity afforded to culture. Hunsinger (2006) labeled some theories of culture, such as Hofstede's five dimensions of culture, as "heuristic approaches" (p. 32) because of their tendency to construct culture as stable (p. 34). Hunsinger offered an alternative to this approach by drawing on Appadurai, who developed a theory of culture based on flows or *scapes* (*ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, ideoscapes*). In Appadurai's vision of culture, culture is no longer stable and static. Instead, it is dynamic and influenced by global flows or contexts, namely political, economic, and social issues, vectors of power, and

history (p. 42; p. 36-37). Given this view of culture, we can say that there are no such things as cultural essences for different communities.

Hunsinger went on to argue that cultural identity is an arena for conscious choice, justification, and representation within the dynamics of the globalizing world (p. 38-39). This gives a certain amount of agency to people, whereby they are not merely passive objects of global flows. In addition, culture is not merely revealed during communication (p. 37); instead, cultural identity is constructed in texts. Hunsinger wrote: "when cultural identity is considered to be constructed, mobilized, and irreducibly intertextual, the intertextual connections that influence cultural identity during communication become significantly more important for understanding cross-cultural communication" (p. 41). Therefore, understanding the ways cultural identity is enacted in texts, including websites, is important for intercultural communication. Hunsinger went on to write:

> Bourdieu (2001) explained that cultural description is essentially performative because describing the social world "aims to produce and impose representations (mental, verbal, visual, or theatrical) of the social world which may be capable of acting on this world by acting on agents' representation of it" (p. 127). Thus, by creating representations that, if pedagogically useful, are to be enacted, cultural researchers produce the cultural locality and autonomy they intend to describe, producing the object of study in the act of research. (p. 43)

Therefore, as technical communicators, we should be aware of the rhetorical quality of our work in creating and reproducing representations of communities. We should be particularly careful not to create cultural others. Agboka (2012) went on to argue that a discussion of culture should account for the individual rather than simply the group (p.

170). He thus offered a discursive paradigm of culture that "sees culture as "socially constructed" in which culture is under construction and reconstruction by active cultural actors, who construct their identities and negotiate systems of knowledge and meaning that come to play during intercultural contacts" (p. 159). In this vision of culture, he accounted for the multiplicity of elements that affect someone's culture – again the emphasis here is on the individual with the individual constructing their identity and culture discursively. He noted that people take on multiple identities and "shuttle between identities" as needed in different communication contexts (p. 177). Therefore, in this version of culture, culture is not imposed on individuals and does not constrict their actions. Rather, people choose to construct and enact their cultures as needed (I should note however, that societal pressures, among others, certainly guide these constructions and enactments).

In intercultural communication then, we can turn our focus on how individuals construct their identities and cultures discursively in particular communication/rhetorical situations. A social justice approach used in such research can help emphasize the individuals' input and agency in these constructions. In analyzing how immigration organizations deploy their online presence to help immigrants, I will pay attention to how cultures are constructed and enacted by these organizations. Doing so will help me address how these immigration organizations take into account the multiplicity of cultures. In addition, as a researcher in an intercultural context, I will need to be particularly careful and self-reflective so that I do not create cultural others (see Hunsinger, 2006 above).

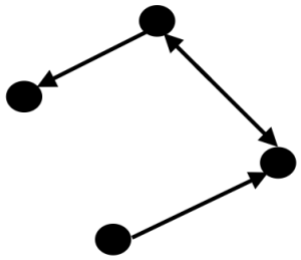
Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis (SNA) is a paradigm or perspective that privileges relations. For social network analysts, the social world is built around networks and finding the patterns in these networks is essential (Marin & Wellman, 2014, p. 16). As Borgatti et al. (2009) wrote, "Social network theory provides an answer to a question that has pre- occupied social philosophy since the time of Plato, namely, the problem of social order: how autonomous individuals can combine to create enduring, functioning societies" (p. 892). While SNA has primarily originated with social science researchers/thinkers, it has drawn researchers from multiple fields. It is thus truly an interdisciplinary paradigm.

Wasserman and Faust (1994) defined social networks as "formally defined as a set of nodes (or network members) that are tied by one or more types of relations" (as qtd. in Marin & Wellman, 2014, p. 1). Figure 2.1 shows an example of a simple network. Social relations can be divided into four basic types: similarities, social relations, interactions, flows (Borgatti et al., 2009, p. 893). Social networks usually examine how these ties affect each other. Social scientists are interested in the consequences of these networks, particularly the meaning behind a node's position in the network. That positioning can determine the opportunities, constraints and outcomes for the node (Borgatti, 2009, p. 894).

Figure 2.1

Example of a Simple Network



The goal of SNA is to provide an understanding of a society, industry, company, etc. by studying the relations linking the different nodes and the flow of actions across them (Read and Swarts, 2015, p. 19). For example, a network analysis can reveal which nodes are essential to the network; that is, which nodes hold the network together and without whom, the network falls apart. The consequences of a network can be explained by mechanisms that describe the behavior of nodes, edges and information flow in the network (Borgatti et al., 2009, p. 894). These mechanisms include the transmission, adaptation mechanism, binding mechanism, exclusion mechanism. Here's a brief summary of these mechanisms from Borgatti et al. (2009):

- Transmission mechanism: states that something flows along a network path from one node to the other (p. 894)
- Adaptation mechanism: states that nodes become homogeneous as a result of experiencing and adapting to similar social environments (p. 894)
- Binding mechanism: states that social ties can bind nodes together in such a way as to construct a new entity whose properties can be different from those of its constituent elements (p. 894)

- Exclusion mechanism: states that one node, by forming a relation with another, excludes a third node in competitive situations (p. 895)

As Marin and Wellman (2014) noted, network theories tend to favor the transmission mechanism, whereby they:

> treat network ties as pipelines through which many things flow: *information about jobs* (Granovetter, 1973, 1974), *social support* (Wellman and Wortley, 1990), *norms* (Coleman, 1988), *workplace identities* (Podolny and Baron, 1997), *disease* (Morris, 1993), *immunity to disease* (S. Cohen et al., 1997, 2001), *material aid* (Stack, 1974) or *knowledge of culture* (Erickson, 1996). (p. 10) (emphasis added)

As Marin and Wellman (2014) above show, network theories have been used across a wide variety of areas in social sciences.

Network analysis has also been used in areas that are close to technical and professional communication (TPC). Read and Swarts (2015) used both Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and network analysis in an effort to understand knowledge work in the creation of digital humanities and digital media research lab. Their work showed that each method produces different outlooks on the same object (p. 14). On the business side, Zwijze-Koning and de Jong (2015) showed how network analysis can be applied to assess communication in organizations and uncover communication problems. They focused on network analysis in communication audits. Other researchers have used network theories to examine organizations. Analysis of organizational networks shed light on how interpersonal communication networks across organizations impact

organizations' innovative potential (Granovetter, 1973; Hargadon & Sutton, 1997; Malerba, 2009; Basov & Minina, 2018). Basov and Minina (2018) noted that "personal networks form the basis of integration and cooperation between organizations" (p. 378). Therefore, network analysis can be a powerful tool to examine institutions, organizations, and the relationships and communication patterns within organizations.

Hyperlink Network Analysis

Hyperlink analysis is a variant of network analysis. Park (2003) defined hyperlink network analysis as "an extension of traditional network analysis in that it focuses on the structure of a social system based on the shared links among communication partners" (p. 57). Essentially, a hyperlink is a structure that connects two web pages. With hyperlink analysis, researchers rely on the hyperlinks within web pages to define the connections between nodes. These nodes can include units within an organization or the organizations (i.e. web pages coming from outside the organization) that are connected to the organization under study.

Park, Barnett and Nam (2001) noted that websites' hyperlink networks also serve to establish the credibility of a website: the more credible the website, the higher the number of hyperlinks linking to it. For example, immigration websites often include hyperlinks to USCIS or the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) as reliable sources to back their claims about immigration. However, I should add a note of caution here. With the proliferation of comments sections on various sites and trolls who post links to untrustworthy websites (i.e. websites where users are more vulnerable to viruses),

the question of credibility linked to the number of incoming hyperlinks is a bit more nuanced today than in the early 2000s. Researchers must be careful to analyze the provenance and authors of the hyperlinks.

Although hyperlink network analysis has not been used in the technical and professional communication literature much, it has been regularly employed in various other fields, including sociology, communication, computer science, data science and tourism. Kropczynski and Nah (2010) have used hyperlink network analysis to study the connections among housing social movement organizations in the US, noting that "increasing the number of bridging hyperlinks available on a website can improve the web presence of the [social movement organizations] furthering the goals of the overall movement" (p. 689). Park, Thelwall and Kluver (2005) used hyperlink network analysis to examine the political hyperlinks established by the National Assembly members in South Korea, investigating the communicative agendas of politicians as represented by their (out)linking practices. They noted that politicians used hyperlinks for informative content rather than ideological affiliations. Raisi, Baggio, Barratt-Pugh and Willson (2018) used hyperlink network analysis to study the hyperlink network of the tourism industry in Western Australia in an effort to understand the effectiveness of information flow between tourism organizations and enterprises on the Internet. They noted that "the websites tend to form communities based on their geographical locations" and that "education about the instrumental importance of hyperlinks could increase interconnectivity and therefore industry performance" (p. 671). Finally Maier, Waldherr, Miltner, Jahnichen and Pfetsch (2018) used hyperlink network analysis to study the food

safety movement in the US, specifically focusing on genetically modified food and food control. They traced the involved websites and their interlinking structures. As the studies listed show, hyperlink network analysis can be a powerful tool to help researchers study a number of topics and issues.

In this dissertation, I bring hyperlink network analysis to the nexus of technical and professional communication and immigration. In the organizational network analysis chapter, I rely on hyperlink network analysis to build the network of national immigration organizations in the US and then select the two most central organizations in the network for further analysis in the other analytical chapters of the dissertation.

Content Strategy

In the next analytical chapter of the dissertation, the website analysis, I rely heavily on the literature in content strategy from TPC. I first offer some key definitions for content strategy, before presenting a brief overview of content strategy. Finally, I offer a brief discussion of content management since content management is closely aligned with content strategy.

Key Definitions For Content Strategy and Management

Kristina Halvorson (2008) defined content strategy as "planning for the creation, publication, and governance of useful, usable content." Getto, Labriola and Ruszkiewicz (2019) drew on Halvorson (2008) to define content as "useful, usable information deployed for a specific audience" (p. 2). Hart-Davidson (2005) described the qualities that content possess as

> dynamic (ability of content to stay fresh and be subject to ongoing revision), customized (ability of content to change based on audience's "specific needs, preferences, environment, or some combination of all of these things"), linked and distributed (ability of content to be reused "to ensure consistency of experience and/or trust in the validity of content"), granular (the ability to communicate meaning at a micro-level), and interactive. (as qtd in Andersen & Batova, 2015, p. 254).

To assess content, researchers and practitioners can perform a web content audit. Halvorson and Rach (2012) defined web content audit as "an accounting of the content [an] organization currently has online" (p. 47).

Another key term that I need to define is content modeling because of its importance to reusing content across platforms. Rockley and Cooper (2012) defined content modeling as "formalizing the structure of your content in guidelines, templates, and structured frameworks" (p. 133). Wachter-Boettcher (2012) noted that this makes content usable across platforms and devices.

I should note here that the field of content management can draw from various theories key to technical and professional communication. For example, some scholars have studied content management through Rhetorical Genre Theory (Honkaranta, 2003; McCarthy et al., 2011). Andersen and Batova (2015) noted:

> The genre lens is particularly useful for conceptualizing component content management because it allows classifying individual components as a genre characterized not only by granularity that enables reuse, but also by potentiality that stems from their dynamic, adaptive, and structured nature. (p. 249)

Similarly, Andersen and Batova (2015) noted that theories about rhetoric of technology, technology transfer and diffusion, information design, user-centered design, activity, actor networks, genre, and human–computer interaction can inform content management practices (p. 263).

Content Strategy Overview

It is crucial for organizations to develop a sound content strategy to guide the creation, delivery and governance of content. Halvorson and Rach (2012) noted the various ways that content strategy might work:

> Sometimes, content strategy may focus specifically on the editorial, structural, or technical aspects of content. And sometimes, it may be an enterprise-wide effort that's directly tied to high-level business strategies. In either case, content strategy helps us find ways to better understand all aspects of our content, which means we can make smarter, more informed decisions about how we're going to select and execute our tactics. (p. 28)

In other words, content strategy can focus on the broader aspects of content as well as the details involving content. Halvorson and Rach described core content strategy through the figure below (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2

Components of Core content Strategy (p. 29)

They defined the core content strategy as "how an organization (or project) will use content to achieve its objectives and meet its user needs" (p. 29). This is the description Halvorson and Rach gave for the four components of the core content strategy:

- Substance: What kinds of content do we need (topics, types, sources, etc.)? What messages does content need to communicate to our audience?
- Structure: How is content prioritized, organized, formatted, and displayed? (Structure can include IA, metadata, data modeling, linking strategies, etc.)
- Workflow: What processes, tools, and human resources are required for content initiatives to launch successfully and maintain ongoing quality?
- Governance: How are key decisions about content and content strategy made? How are changes initiated and communicated? p. 30

The first two components involve the content while the last two components involve people. Individuals involved with creating content for a company's website then need to develop a strong core content strategy to guide all areas of content creation and deployment.

It is difficult to gain a thorough understanding of an organization's core strategy without interviewing the person or people responsible for managing content creation and distribution. Since this dissertation does not include interviews with the immigration organizations under study and their employees and/or volunteers involved in web content creation and distribution, it would be difficult to present a comprehensive look into these organizations' core strategies. However, it is still possible to gain an understanding of their strategies through examining the kinds of content they post, the intended audiences for this content, and how content is being prioritized, organized and displayed (i.e. the first two bullet points Halvorson and Rach, 2012 presented). Therefore, the website analysis chapter in this dissertation will address these points.

Content Management and Content Strategy

Discussing content strategy is intrinsically linked with the literature on content management. For example, Clark (2016) used content management as part of his description of content strategy

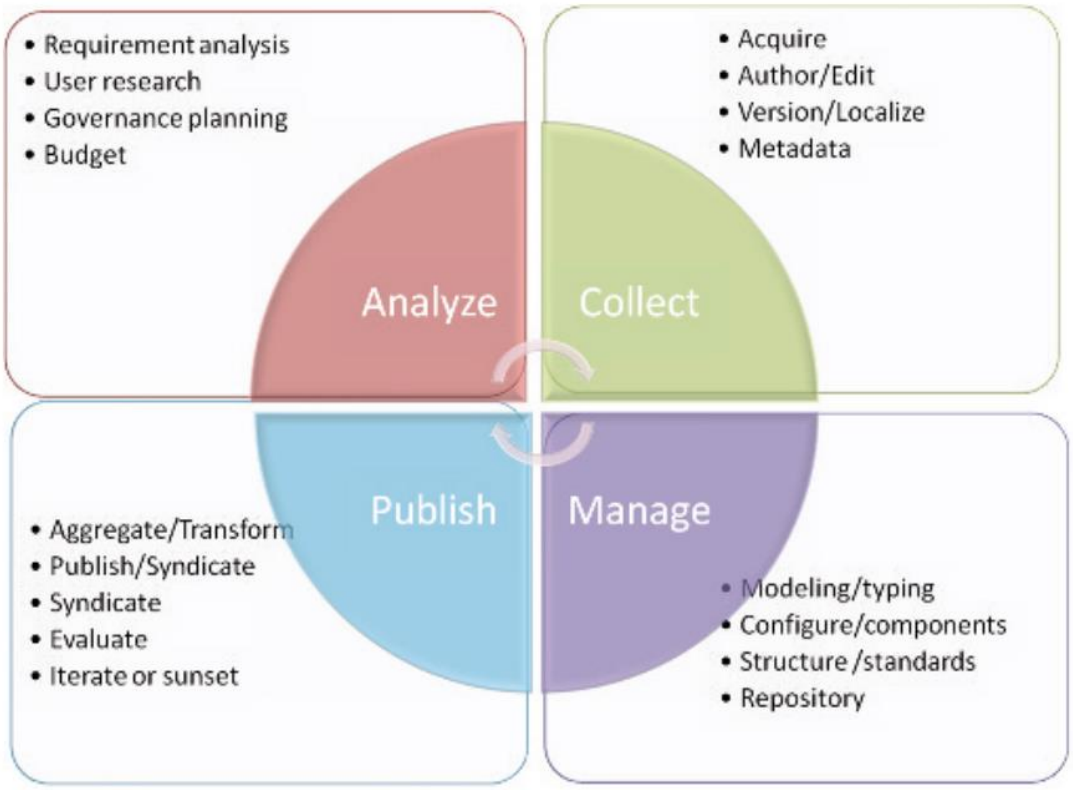
> Content strategy—which moves beyond "management" to incorporate the planning and development of content—is intriguing because it offers a higher-level understanding of content production; it better accounts for the entire lifecycle of content and, done well, includes planning for incorporating technical content across the organization. (P. 8)

Therefore, there is some overlap between content management and content strategy even as there are some distinct differences between the two. The literature on both is rather broad, with researchers and practitioners often using different terminology (Andersen & Batova, 2015). Below, I offer a brief discussion of content lifecycle (a key element of content management) because of its connections to content strategy.

Andersen and Batova (2015) noted that some scholars (Rockley & Cooper, 2012; Gollner, 2010; Bailie, 2010) have argued that content strategy can be placed within the context of the larger content lifecycle (p. 260). Andersen and Batova (2015) argued that "thinking of content strategy in the context of a larger content lifecycle helps organizations track the past, present, and future of each component of content" (p. 261). Abel and Bailie (2014) described the content lifecycle as the "process that defines the series of changes in the life of any piece of content, including reproduction, from creation onward" (p. 16). The figure (Figure 2.3) below represents a description of the content lifecycle (pulled from Bailie, 2011).

Figure 2.3

From Bailie (2011) Representing the Lifecycle of Content



Just as with Halvorson and Rach's (2012) description of core content strategy, Bailie's (2011) representation of the lifecycle of content is only somewhat useful for the purposes of this dissertation. While organizations need to process content with Bailie's four stages in mind to successfully reach their target audiences, it is difficult to understand how they have applied these four stages to their content creation process without insight into the workings of the organizations. One of the ways to analyze content from an outside perspective would be to assess how content is organized on an organization's website, how they are reused across web pages, what content is prioritized and the overall structure of each web page.

In this dissertation, I use some elements of content strategy to assess the content the two chosen immigration organizations (chosen through the analysis done in the organizational network analysis chapter) display on their websites as well as the intended audiences for this content. In particular, I rely on the substance and content core components from Halvorson and Rach (2012). Thus, I examine the kinds of content the immigration organizations post on their websites and their intended audiences for this content. I also examine how content is being prioritized, organized and displayed. Therefore, the website analysis chapter in this dissertation will address these elements from the chosen immigration organizations' websites. I next turn to a discussion of social media analysis.

Social Media Analysis

In my last analytical chapter, the Twitter analysis chapter, I turn to the body of work in social media to guide my analysis. I first offer a brief overview of social media, before discussing social media in TPC and in the context of immigration. I then conclude with a brief overview of the research methods associated with social media.

Social media applications have proliferated over the past decade, with some waning from popularity while others rose to prominence. Stieglitz (2014) listed the following categories of social media: weblogs, microblogs, social network sites, location-based social networks, discussion forums, wikis, podcast networks, picture and video sharing platforms, ratings and reviews communities, social bookmarking sites, and avatar-based virtual reality spaces (p. 89). In the social media literature in TPC, we tend to repeatedly see certain popular platforms including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and

various blogs. While social media is popular with users, it has also carved an important place in academia, including with TPC scholars.

Since social media became prominent, researchers have worked with social media data to understand various social phenomena. Stieglitz (2014) noted that "the mainstream adoption of social media applications has caused a paradigm shift in how people communicate, collaborate, create, and consume information" (p. 89). This shift is particularly important for TPC. As Kimme Hea (2014) noted, "social media … are interwoven into the political, rhetorical, and material work of technical communication scholars" (p. 2). TPC scholars' work with social media is part of our work studying "relationships among technologies, users, communication, and culture … [where we examine] issues of agency, access, knowledge, and praxis [which] are central to the ways we define our field of study" (Kimme Hea, 2014, p.2). To this, Longo (2014) emphasized that "we need to look at cultural assumptions underpinning the design of these [social media] tools and how we envision people using them" (p. 26). Since social media has permeated all aspects of modern society and life, it is essential that TPC scholars use their particular skill sets to examine social media.

As Breuch (2018) noted, researchers need to take particular care when picking which social media to study since each platform offers particular affordances. Twitter, for example, is a microblogging platform while Whatsapp is a messaging and voice over IP platform. Users also tend to use social media for different purposes. For instance, while users might use Twitter to disseminate information broadly or participate in a conversation with a large group of people (often strangers), they tend to use Whatsapp to connect directly with friends and family. Of course, impersonal information is also shared

on Whatsapp. For example, during the Covid-19 pandemic, a series of false health information widely circulated on Whatsapp as people received this information from one set of people and shared it with another. However, Twitter remains a premium space for more direct conversation among groups of strangers.

Social Media and TPC

In TPC, the literature on social media has examined a number of topics. Sometimes these topics overlap as researchers combine topics in their work. Here are some of the major topics for social media: education and the writing classroom, the workplace, disaster response (crisis communication), and audience-centered scholarship.

Education or the writing classroom is one of the major topics featured in the literature on social media. Most of these studies include arguing for the inclusion of social media in the classroom or examples and discussions of such inclusions. In urging for the inclusion of social media, Longo (2014) argued that "teachers can recreate professional settings in which technical communicators learn about users directly" (p. 30-31). In setting up these participatory environments, teachers can help students learn about "the difficulties of establishing trusted and meaningful communication channels" (p. 31). She went on to write:

> In the same ways that organizations cannot avoid using social media in their practices (Bradley, 2010), teachers cannot avoid using social media in our classrooms. As Kelm (2011) noted, ‘‘We learn much from observing how young people use technology’’ (p. 519), and when we learn from our students, we underscore our shared value in collective knowledge-making that can help us bridge global contexts. We also help to create a culture for learning in which

students and teachers can both share their expertise and learn from each other. P. 31

Therefore, for Longo, social media can also serve as a medium of learning and knowledge making. Similarly, Verzosa Hurley and Kimme Hea (2014) argued that TPC teachers are "in a particularly apt position to teach social media as key to students' lives as technical communicators and future professionals" (p. 55). They emphasized the need for TPC students to engage critically with social media. In discussing the introduction of social media in the writing classroom, Maranto and Barton (2010), however, offered a word of caution. They noted the implications for bringing these technologies into the classroom, including the potential for both use and abuse of these technologies by students, teachers, and administrators.

Other studies have focused on their experiences and observations including social media in the writing classroom. Kimme Hea (2011) examined the difficulties that students in service-learning technical communication classes faced during their work on their community partners' social media accounts. She argued that both higher education and community partners must develop a critical sensibility about social media to foster stronger partnerships between the two. Kaufer, Gunawardena, Tan, and Cheek (2011), for their part, discussed the use of IText technology called Classroom Salon in writing classrooms, which "changes the dynamics of the writing classroom" (p. 299). The technology allowed students to form social networks as annotators within the drafts of their peers, thus recreating the qualities of historical salons. Lam and Hannah (2016) offered an example of a TPC classroom activity that required students to identify, collect and analyze a sample of tweets in order to understand the represented audience's values,

needs and attitudes. Through their work, this group of scholars have helped us better understand how to include social media in our classrooms.

TPC scholars have also examined the use of social media by TPC workers. Vie (2017) and Ferro and Zachry (2014) have surveyed TPC professionals to understand their use and training for social media. Pigg (2014) examined how a professional communicator used social media during his normal workday. Pigg argued that "networked writing environments help knowledge workers gain access to existing communities of practice, maintain a presence within them, and leverage community norms to circulate texts through them" (p. 70). Similarly, Fraiberg (2017) noted the presence of social media in the start-up world (or ecosystem) of Israel. He wrote:

> Central to this rapidly shifting landscape is a dense start-up ecosystem composed of an array of meetups, hackathons, lectures, training sessions, mixers, social media sites, conferences, coworking spaces, venture capitalists, angels, and accelerators. In this study, I argue for tracing entrepreneurs in and across these fluid systems as they shape and are shaped by everyday practices. p. 352

As these studies note, researchers are increasingly working toward understanding how social media is being used in the workplace.

TPC scholars have also used social media to better understand audiences. Longo (2014) noted social media's role in helping TPC practitioners "design documents that are more explicitly responsive to audience needs and that are more directly inclusive of a range of perspectives across global communities" (p. 24). She suggested that social media can also help TPC practitioners "play the role of a moderator who manages information flows from many sources" (p. 24). Similarly, McGuire and Kampf (2015) discussed

audience analysis through sentiment analysis of social media data. Breuch (2018), in discussing the deployment of a healthcare website and a library website, emphasized audience and discussed the potential of social media for usability purposes. This body of work notes how TPC workers can use social media, not only in their professional lives (that is to help their own careers), but also in their work. Overall, the literature on social media and the workplace shows that social media is an integral part of the workplace, especially for TPC workers.

Social media has also been repeatedly used to study crisis situations. Potts (2009) and Potts (2013) used Twitter data to understand how people respond to various disasters. Similarly, Bowdon (2014) examined the role of organizations' Twitter feeds during emergency situations, focusing on Hurricane Irene in 2011 and argued for a pedagogical model that enables students to assess the rhetorical nature of tweets and Twitter as a communication tool. Muralidharan, Rasmussen, Patterson, and Shin (2011) focused on nonprofit organizations. They examined how nonprofit organizations used social media during the 2010 Haitian earthquake using framing theory. Liu, Lai and Xu (2018), for their part, focused on government and emergency management organizations' use of Twitter. They examined the emerging semantic networks from their tweets during Hurricane Harvey, identifying their crisis response strategies. As these studies show, social media has often used in the context of disasters (from natural ones like hurricanes to terrorists acts like bombings).

Social media has also been used in the context of health crises. Chew and Eysenbach (2010) used Twitter data during the 2009 H1N1 pandemic to conduct what they term "infodemiology." They assessed the content of tweets, which ranged from

information from credible sources to opinions and experiences. Overall, the body of research on social media and crisis situations reveal how social media can be used by both the authorities (or other agencies) and individuals during crisis situations to convey information, resources and support. Such use can have both many benefits, including convenience and reach, speed of delivery, collaboration among others, and some drawbacks, including misinformation among others (see Tucker, 2011).

In this dissertation, I choose to study the social media platform, Twitter because of its ability to rapidly disseminate information to a broad audience as well as connect users. I locate my analysis of immigration organizations' use of Twitter within the grouping of social media and the workplace. I focus on how immigration organizations use Twitter, what information they disseminate, how they connect with clients/followers and their professional network (in terms of which organizations' and individuals' voices they amplify).

Social Media and Migration

Social media has been particularly useful in migration studies. The body of work in this literature tends to focus strongly on migrants' use of social media with some work examining social media conversations about migrants. Scholars studying social media and migration tend to examine social media alongside information and communication technologies (ICT), such as smartphones (Borkert, Fisher and Yafi, 2018). Studies have mostly looked at how migrants use social media during and after their migration. However, a few studies have also examined how social media is used before migration. Below I go over the findings from some of these studies.

Migrants often use social media for interpersonal communication through their personal network. Fiedler (2019), focusing on refugees coming to Germany in 2015-2016, noted that social media networks form a key source of information for migrants both before and during flight, especially given social media's ability to provide information about rapidly evolving situations. When examining ow asylum migrants use social media before and during their migration, often through their smartphones, Dekker, Engbersen, Klaver, Vonk (2018) noted that Syrian asylum migrants "prefer social media information that originates from existing social ties and information that is based on personal experiences" since these are considered more trustworthy (p. 1). They also discussed the strategies migrants use to validate information - a key element, especially today with the proliferation of 'fake' news.

Examining the use of social media among Syrian and Iraqi refugees in the EU, Gillespie, Ampofo, Cheesman, Faith, Iliadou, Issa, Osseiran, and Skleparis (2016) also noted that ICTs for migrants function as both navigation and communication tools. They wrote that "many [refugees] say that the smartphone is 'more important than food or shelter'" (p. 10). Refugees use these tools to contact those migrants who've migrated before them and to contact people who can help them, such as coastguards. Gillespie et al. wrote: "Access to information about where to seek help and a phone call can often make the difference between life and death (for example, for an entire boat of people or a family)" (p. 11). ICTs, particularly smartphones and social media tools, are thus essential items for migrants.

However, Gillespie et al. also described the risks that migrants face when using these ICTs. They discuss the dangers of false information circulating on social media.

These false information, used to mislead migrants, often came from people smugglers. They also note that ICTs can make migrants vulnerable to state surveillance, which may inhibit their movement. They note that such surveillance can be weaponized by state and non-state actors, enabling them to "distinguish the 'desirable' refugees from the 'undesirable' irregular migrants at the borders" (p. 10).

Gillespie et al. also discussed the needs of migrants, stressing the need for better provision and resources by French authorities and news media. These resources included easier access to information about the support systems and organizations that can help them, as they "navigate their journeys through European systems, institutions, culture, language and way of life" (p. 11). Refugees tended to access international news sources through social media and news feed apps shared among family and friends. Gillespie et al. noted that "the most trusted and influential people on Twitter are those who are close to the ground in Syria and other conflict zones. They have friends, fans and followers who amplify their message content and opinions. Key influencers can [also] media between cultures, languages and groups and perform the role of cultural diplomat and broker" (p. 13).

These findings are echoed in numerous other sources. Emmer, Kunst and Richter (2020) examined the use of digital media by refugees coming to Germany. They also noted the use of social media rather than general internet sources such as websites for communication with acquaintances during flight while noting that public forums played a key role both in learning about migrants' experiences coming to Germany and relating their own migration experiences (p. 10). They pointed out though, that refugees "are not a homogeneous group and that usage patterns depend on regional origins" (p. 1). This

suggests that, while similarities may exist among migrant groups, it is essential to understand different migrant groups' use of social media, and understand their needs. This also suggests that it is essential to study social media use (and therefore their social media needs) among migrants going to different target countries. Gaining such an understanding can help state organizations and nonprofits better help migrants before, during and after their journeys.

In examining the use of information and communication technologies among Arab refugees in Berlin in 2015, Borkert, Fisher and Yafi (2018) confirmed previous findings that refugees overwhelmingly gather information about their migration via Facebook, WhatsApp, or Viber (p. 8). They noted that the most trusted sources of information consists of social ties with migrants who have successfully migrated. They also noted that migrants act as both producers and consumers of information on social media and in digital social networks. In so doing, migrants showed a keen awareness of and ability to identify misinformation circulating on social media. Finally, they emphasized the active agency of forced migrants: "newly arrived refugees in Germany actively escaped using a wide range of resources and skills available to them (including ICT, family ties, creative solution seeking, and the rational assessment of information quality, for instance)" (p. 9). This is key in changing the framing of migrants, especially refugees, from passive victims to individuals actively shaping their lives in the midst of fear, danger and uncertainty.

In discussing Somali refugees travelling to France, Charmarkeh (2013) described how they use social media to fight misinformation. He wrote:

> Once in France, Somalis continue to use MSN [Messenger] to get in touch with their friends or family members for the purpose of verifying the accuracy of the news reported on websites regarding political events that took place in their region. The participants explained that despite the proliferation of news media and the almost instantaneous availability of a wealth of news on Somalia, most of the sites publish exaggerated stories in order to generate considerable online traffic and thereby earn money from advertisements. p. 48

Charmarkeh also noted that social media and traditional media have different functions for Somalis, with social media linked to mobility and used for finding a safe refuge, while traditional media serve as information sources about France and French culture (p. 50).

Some studies have focused on how migrants construct themselves through social media. Witteborn (2015) examined how forced migrants position themselves legally, socioculturally and politically through social media, such as Facebook, blogs and Skype (p. 355) through a process which she calls 'becoming.' She noted that *Facebook* is primarily used "to construct a narrative that boosts the self as a loved, admired, networked one - images which contrast starkly with the realities of forced migrants and their lives as a bureaucratically quantifiable category expressed through food rations and defined living space" (p. 357). Witteborn wrote that "this [virtual performance] assisted people living through extended periods of waiting and enabled them to network on their own terms" (p. 357). Witteborn thus discussed the potential benefits of new technologies: "they can be seen as central political action tools, which create evolving forms of collective mobilization that challenge concepts of border through information sharing,

transnational grouping and political learning" (p. 364). Witteborn thus showed that ICTs can be used for more than navigation and the sharing of news among migrants and their networks of friends and families; ICTs can serve as political tools that allow migrants to enact their agencies.

Finally, social media can be used in the context of migration to examine how the conversation around migrants is being framed in these digital spaces. Siapera, Boudourides, Lenis and Suiter (2018) examined the dominant frames present in tweets containing certain hashtags (such as #refugee) during the refugee crisis of 2015-2016 (Europe). They found that the frames of security and safety (with a negative focus on migrants - with some racist hashtags), and humanitarianism (with a somewhat positive focus on migrants) dominated the tweets. They noted that the conversation around refugees was often "instrumentalized by political interests" (p.1). They also identified the dominant actors, which included elite politicians, media, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in the conversation around immigration. This contrasts with the dominant figures, who are closer to the ground (see Gillespie et al., 2016 above) that migrants tend to trust.

This literature review shows that migrants tend to trust their own personal networks for information both before and during their migration, which highlights the importance of the interpersonal communication that ICTs (including social media) allow. It also reveals that migrants can benefit from a stronger support system from states and nonprofit organizations, especially after their migration. It is therefore imperative to understand what kinds of information states and nonprofit organizations disseminate online, especially through social media platforms. This dissertation examines this

question by first looking at the most prominent immigration organizations in the US. The Overview chapter reveals that USCIS and LIRS are most prominent, which is ideal given that USCIS is a federal government agency and LIRS is a nonprofit organization. I should note here that the studies described in this section are mostly focused on migrants, especially refugees, in Europe. While there have been many studies about migrants in the US, I have not found a substantial body of work on social media and immigration. Therefore, future TPC research could seek to replicate some of the studies described above with a focus on migrants coming into the US. This would be particularly useful since the US receives a substantial number of refugees (although the numbers have been declining in the past few years) and migrants.

Social Media and Methods

Before ending this section on social media, I will briefly address the methods that researchers use to analyze social media data. Various approaches have been used with social media data over the years (Breuch, 2018). These include various forms of network analysis, content analysis, modified grounded theory, among others. Each analytical approach can reveal different information about the data collected.

Researchers applying any of the various forms of network analysis are concerned with the network nature of social media (i.e. its potential for showing connections among individuals and groups). This work reveals the conversations and actions made possible through networks enabled by social media platforms. Potts (2013), for example, applied actor network theory to Twitter data to understand how people respond to disasters. Potts (2011) argued that making visible the network of participants and technologies can "provide insight to the designer seeking to optimize communication systems in the wake

of disaster, as well as providing further generalization to everyday use." These networks can be derived through various means, depending on the metadata available for each social media platform.

In analyzing social media data, researchers have often examined different facets of these tools. One of the key advantages of social media is that it offers different types of data, including text, images, videos, memes, hashtags, and so on, as well as metadata such as retweets, likes, and so on. Tools used to collect social media data often allow researchers to separately collect these types of data. For example, TAGS (used in this dissertation to collect Twitter data - see methods chapter for a more thorough discussion of TAGS) allows researchers to separately collect the body of tweets, urls included in tweets, time and place of tweets, and so on. These different data types allow researchers to focus on different questions. Examining retweets for example can give us a sense of the professional networks emphasized by a given account (i.e. whose voices an account is amplifying). For example, Starbird and Palen (2010) examined two crises, the Red River Flood and Oklahoma Fires, through Twitter's retweeting feature. Potts, Seitzinger, Jones, and Harriston (2011), for their part, have used Twitter hashtags to outline the connections between various entities on Twitter.

Researchers have also repeatedly performed content analyses of social media data. They are concerned with the elements present in social media postings. These elements can include such items as sentiments present (sentiment analysis). For example, Liu, Lai and Xu (2018) used semantic network analysis; they referred to Doerfel (1998) to note that semantic network analysis is "an analytical approach focused on the co-occurrences (associative patterns), frequency, and clustering patterns among words from

a variety of communication texts, such as organizational narratives, news content, and social media messages" (p. 810). Similarly, McGuire and Kampf (2015) used sentiment analysis to study audiences, suggesting that "organizations can use [the knowledge provided by social media] to manage their publics by understanding when it is time to listen to criticism, and when it is a better time to open up a question period to the public" (n.p.). I should note here that sentiment analysis is only one possible avenue with content analyses of social media data.

Finally, researchers have also used grounded theory approaches, such as modified grounded theory, to examine social media data. This type of analysis allows researchers to ground their studies in the context of the study and data available. Breuch (2018) used a grounded theory approach with social media data to examine two cases: the deployment of a healthcare website and a library website. She noted the potential benefits of using social media for usability purposes, especially given that social media allows companies to receive direct input from users. They are also a great space for companies to directly communicate with users.

Social Media Conclusion

As seen above, social media is a key element of our lives, both personal and professional. TPC scholars have delved into the study of social media by examining its benefits (and drawbacks) to education and the workplace. They've also examined its uses in crisis communication (natural disasters, terrorists acts, pandemics). In the context of immigration, social media is essential for migrants, helping them plan their journeys and navigate during their travel. It also offers a powerful means of communication, allowing them to stay in touch with families and friends back home, contact migrants who have

successfully immigrated and organizations that can help them. It also offers migrants access to news. These advantages are accompanied by various risks, including state surveillance and false news. Finally, social media, as big data, can be analyzed in various ways to address different research questions. Note that many of the studies involving social media and immigration tend to rely on interviews and surveys with migrants to better capture how the latter use social media rather than relying (solely) on the data available on social media platforms.

I position this dissertation alongside TPC studies focused on social media and the workplace since my focus is on the work of immigration organizations. By focusing on the information these organizations disseminate online, I approach the question of social media in immigration contexts through the angle of those organizations who are in a position to help (or not help) migrants. Thus, I address the question of the kinds of information that immigration organizations provide on social media platforms in the Twitter analysis chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the key theoretical frameworks informing this dissertation. The key literatures informing this dissertation are: social justice, intercultural communication, social network analysis, social media and content strategy. Social justice and intercultural communication are threads that run throughout the dissertation. In my first analytical chapter, organizational network analysis chapter, I rely on the literature on social network analysis, particularly hyperlink network analysis. In the website analysis chapter, I rely on elements of content strategy, focusing on substance and content core

components, drawn primarily from Halvorson and Rach (2012). In the final analytical chapter, the social media analysis chapter, I rely on the literature on social media, in particular social media and TPC, and social media and immigration.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter details the research methodology and design I used for this dissertation to determine how immigration organizations deploy their online presence. I first restate the research questions before describing how I identify an overview of national immigration organizations, analyze the Twitter accounts and websites of two of the top organizations central to the network. Using social network analysis, I first perform a hyperlink analysis to create an overview of the network of national immigration organizations in the US. Based on this network, I choose two top organizations that are central to the network. Using applied thematic analysis and a social justice framework, I then analyze these organizations' websites using Pauwels' (2012) framework. Finally, I analyze these organizations' Twitter accounts. The methods for each of the three analytical chapters in this dissertation (organizational overview analysis, website analysis, and Twitter analysis) are summarized below in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Summary of Analyses

Chapter	Analysis Done	Key Citations
Organizational Network Analysis	● Hyperlink Network Analysis	● Park (2003) ● Park and Thelwall (2003)
Website Analysis	● Content Audit ● Applied Thematic Analysis	● Pauwels (2012) ● Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) ● Saldana (2016)
Twitter Analysis	● Analysis of tweet frequency, hashtags, retweets, replies	● Breuch (2018)

● Applied Thematic Analysis	● Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) ● Saldana (2016)

Research Questions

This dissertation addresses the following main research question: how do immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information?

In addition to this central question, companion questions include the following:

- How do immigration organizations form a network providing immigration information online?
- Focusing on a few select websites: what information do they contain? What are their stated purposes, features and display?
- Who are the intended audiences for these websites? How are immigration organizations presenting information to these audiences and how are they achieving their own stated (or unstated) purposes of aiding immigrants or immigrants' advocates?
- How do immigration organizations use their Twitter accounts to guide migrants in their immigration journeys and migration advocates in their work?
- How do these Twitter accounts function alongside these organizations' websites?

Research Methodology and Design

This dissertation is organized in three analytical chapters, namely organizational network analysis, website analysis and Twitter analysis. In the organizational network

analysis chapter, I identify a network of national immigration organizations using hyperlink network analysis. I use this network to identify key organizations which I use in the website and Twitter analyses chapters of the dissertation. In the website analysis chapter, I analyze the websites of two key organizations. In the Twitter analysis chapter, I analyze the Twitter accounts of the same two key organizations.

For both the website and Twitter analysis chapters, I use modified grounded theory as methodology. Charmaz (2006) described grounded theory as "grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves" (p. 2). Charmaz's modified grounded theory is derived from the classical grounded theory put forth by Glaser and Strauss (1967). However, her approach emphasized that grounded theories are constructed through "interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices" (p. 10). She went on to write that her approach "explicitly assumes that any theoretical rendering offers an interpretive portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it" (p. 10). Modified grounded theory informed data analysis in the websites and Twitter analyses.

For this dissertation, I follow Breuch (2018) and use the version of modified grounded theory proposed by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012), called the applied thematic analysis. They defined applied thematic analysis thus:

> Applied thematic analysis as we define it comprises a bit of everything—grounded theory, positivism, interpretivism, and phenomenology—synthesized into one methodological framework. The approach borrows what we feel are the more useful techniques from each theoretical and methodological camp and

> adapts them to an applied research context …. The ATA approach is a rigorous, yet inductive, set of procedures designed to identify and examine themes from textual data in a way that is transparent and credible. Our method draws from a broad range of several theoretical and methodological perspectives, but in the end, its primary concern is with presenting the stories and experiences voiced by study participants as accurately and comprehensively as possible. (chapt. 1, n.p.)

Applied thematic analysis focuses on the stories and experiences voiced by participants and therefore works particularly well with a social justice perspective. It is also an excellent approach for analyzing social media data, especially Twitter, which tends to focus on the voices of users and what they wish to share with the world. This approach also has the advantage of being very "useful in capturing the complexities of meaning within a textual data set" (chapter 1, n.p.).

Finally, applied thematic analysis is particularly useful for studies involving a large amount of data, such as the kind of big data obtained with social media. As Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) argued, researchers using an applied thematic analysis approach use "whatever tools might be appropriate to get the analytic job done in a transparent, efficient, and ethical manner" (chapt 1, n.p.). These tools include various forms of quantification, word searches, deviant case analyses, and other analytic tools. This expanded toolkit provides qualitative researchers a way to manage big data. Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) went on to note that "word-based analyses, such as word counts, … can help researchers discover themes in text (Bernard & Ryan, 1998) or to complement other analyses ... in addition to being analytic strategies in and of themselves (chapt. 5, n.p.). In the Twitter chapter of this dissertation, I make use of keyword-in-

context (KWIC) for the first cycle of coding of the body of tweets for each chosen organization. I also use word counts in the first cycle coding in the Twitter chapter to count for some elements, such as hashtags, and who @LIRSorg and @USCIS (the two chosen organizations) reply and retweet. This ability to combine tools in qualitative research with more quantitative-based analyses makes applied thematic analysis particularly helpful for social media analysis.

I should note however that Saldaña (2016) cautioned against assuming that high frequency words automatically are of significance to the analysis (p. 73). He goes on to note that "[word frequency in the data corpus] is nevertheless worth exploring as a query to delve into any emergent but as yet undetected patterns" (p. 73). Therefore, pairing word-based analyses with the thematic approach can help uncover relevant patterns to the data.

So, to summarize, I use Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) to inform the data analysis for both the Twitter chapter (i.e. social media data analysis) and the website analysis to understand how immigration organizations deploy their online presence to help migrants.

Social Justice Framework

Alongside this applied thematic analysis methodology, I draw on the literature on social justice and human-centered design as a framework. I choose to use these areas to inform this dissertation because of their focus on emphasizing human rights and dignity, especially in intercultural contexts or when marginalized communities are involved. Since my work is focused on the online presence of immigration organizations, I believe it is key to emulate research which places human rights at the forefront and aims at

reducing social inequities. I offer a thorough literature review on the body of work on social justice in the literature review chapter. Here I outline some ways that social justice and human-centered design apply to the analysis conducted.

Researchers have documented the ways that technologies can be used to abuse human rights, invading users' privacy and subjecting them to increased vulnerability (Eubanks, 2018). Humanetech.com described humane technology as technology that "protects our minds and replenishes society" ("Problem"). Technologies designed with humans as its focus rather than users can help protect our minds, replenish society and address wicked problems. Rose (2016) described "wicked problems [as] ones that are constantly shifting, contextual, social, and not easily solved" (p. 432). Human-centered technologies can be used to address wicked problems because of their focus on human needs. Rose (2016) argued that "engaging in human-centered design can provide an opportunity for advocacy" (p. 442). This advocacy perspective in design is crucial for the benefit of all potential users of these technologies.

Technical communication scholars studying social justice and human-centered design have so far worked extensively with participatory designs in their studies (Rose, 2016; Walton, 2016; Petersen, 2016; Rose, Racadio, Wong, Nguyen, Kim & Zahler, 2017). However, a participatory design is not appropriate for all types of studies. Therefore, we must find ways of conducting studies with a social justice focus when participatory designs are not an option. Walton and Jones (2013) suggested that researchers doing cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary and cross-organizational environments non-participatory studies can engage in the social justice approach by focusing on context. In practice, and for my dissertation, this includes researching the

context around the deployment of immigration organizations' websites for this dissertation. For example, examining the Twitter accounts of these organizations provides some context into the other avenues organizations use to reach their online audiences. However, a thorough accounting of the context around the deployment of immigration organizations' websites would at least include interviews with web design and maintenance teams as well as social media consultants. In a strictly non-participatory study such as this dissertation, such accounting for context becomes difficult.

Therefore, I turn to other ways of applying principles guiding researchers interested in social justice to this dissertation. Petersen and Walton (2018) drew on Petersen (2016) to suggest that privileging user experience as lived experience is essential in empathetic user design. While this could mean engaging directly with users, it also functions beautifully with the methods used in this dissertation. Specifically, focusing on the lived experiences of users means engaging with the stories that immigration organizations choose to showcase on their websites or Twitter. It also means listening for the stories and experiences that users publicly share as they use the organizations' websites and Twitter. For example, USCIS' Twitter often includes replies where users ask USCIS questions relating to their cases without any connection to the original post (such as queries about their statuses, or where to find a particular form). In examining these stories, I examine who is left out of discourse and decision making (Petersen & Walton, 2018, p. 423). In addition, while doing this work, I critically question my own positionality as a researcher, immigrant and woman of color. In following all these steps, I trace questions of positionality, privilege and power (Jones, Moore, & Walton, 2016).

Thus, I examine whose voices are being privileged over others and how power is enacted in the online spaces of immigration organizations' websites and Twitter accounts.

Organizational Network Analysis

As mentioned above, this chapter of the dissertation consists of identifying a network of national immigration organizations. To identify this network, I use a hyperlink network analysis (Park, 2003). Hyperlink network analysis is a type of network analysis that relies on tracking hyperlinks on a given set of websites. It thus traces the connections between websites. As Park and Thelwall (2003) noted, "no systematic examination of how hyperlink networks among the Web sites (or pages) reflect social relations among their producers has been undertaken" (p. 9). While hyperlinks do not necessarily reflect social relations, many studies have used this technique to investigate online networks and the centrality of websites (see Kropczynski & Nah, 2010; Maier, Waldherr, Miltner, Jahnichen & Pfetsch, 2018).

Building the Dataset.

To perform a hyperlink analysis, I first build a dataset using the database Guidestar. Guidestar is a database of nonprofit organizations in the US. It touts itself as providing "the most complete, up-to-date nonprofit data available" (n.p.). I search for "immigration" and related terms, including asylum seeker and refugee. To obtain the related terms, I both consult the Cambridge Dictionary and look at terms that commonly occur on immigration websites. To further narrow down the list of organizations I work with, I use the filters 'Parent' or 'Headquarters' under 'Organization.' These filters allow me to target national organizations. I then manually go through each organization to see

if it is indeed an immigration organization. Finally, I put the URLs of the selected organizations into a table (see Table 3.2). Based on this analysis, each of the organizations listed in Table 3.2 serve migrants in some capacity.

Table 3.2

List of Immigration Organizations with their URLs

	Organization Name	**URL**
1	American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA)	https://www.AILA.org/
2	Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS)	https://www.LIRS.org/
3	Boat People SOS, Inc.	https://www.bpsos.org/
4	Lutheran Services Florida, Inc.	https://www.lsfnet.org/
5	Wisdom Inc.	https://wisdomwisconsin.org/
6	National Council of Jewish Women Incorporated	https://www.ncjw.org/
7	International Christian Adoptions	http://4achild.org/
8	OCA-Asian Pacific American Advocates	https://www.ocanational.org/
9	Ascentria Care Alliance	https://www.ascentria.org/
10	Saint Francis Ministries, Inc.	https://saintfrancisministries.org/
11	Jobs with Justice Education Fund	https://www.jwj.org/
12	English Speaking Union of the United States National Headquarters	http://www.esuus.org/esu/
13	Bethany Christian Services	https://bethany.org/

14	United States Conference of Catholic Bishops	http://www.usccb.org/
15	Amnesty International USA Inc.	https://www.amnestyusa.org/
16	Oxfam-America Inc.	https://www.oxfamamerica.org/

I briefly describe the migration work for each organization listed in Table 3.2:

1. The American Immigration Lawyers Association focuses on immigration lawyers, who work closely with migrants.
2. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service is an advocacy organization, helping refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants settle in the US.
3. Boat People SOS Inc. helps migrants, focusing on Vietnamese lawful permanent residents.
4. Lutheran Services Florida Inc. helps refugees resettle in the US.
5. Wisdom Inc. helps undocumented individuals with procedures, such as obtaining driving licenses.
6. The National Council of Jewish Women Incorporated fights against xenophobic, anti-immigrant and anti-refugee policies to promote a welcoming environment to migrants in the US.
7. The International Christian Adoptions focuses on refugee resettlement services.
8. OCA-Asian Pacific American Advocates focuses on pro-migration policies, such as a comprehensive immigration reform bill that supports all Asian American and Pacific Islander communities.

9. Ascentria Care Alliance provides community-based services for immigrants and refugees to help them find stability and independence.
10. Saint Francis Ministries Inc. used to provide support services to refugees but the organization shut down its refugee services in late 2020 due to financial issues.
11. Jobs with Justice Education Fund supports immigration reform policies that would protect vulnerable workers.
12. English Speaking Union of the United States National Headquarters provides language services to recently-arrived immigrants.
13. Bethany Christian Services offers services to refugees.
14. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops resettles refugees.
15. Amnesty International USA Inc. supports migrants and advocates for policies that support migrants' rights.
16. Oxfam-America Inc. works to help forced migrants.

My rationale for choosing national organizations is that they have a wider reach than regional organizations. They are also less focused on regional context than regional organizations. Therefore organizations that operate at the national level are the relevant organizations for an overview of immigration organizations.

Analysis.

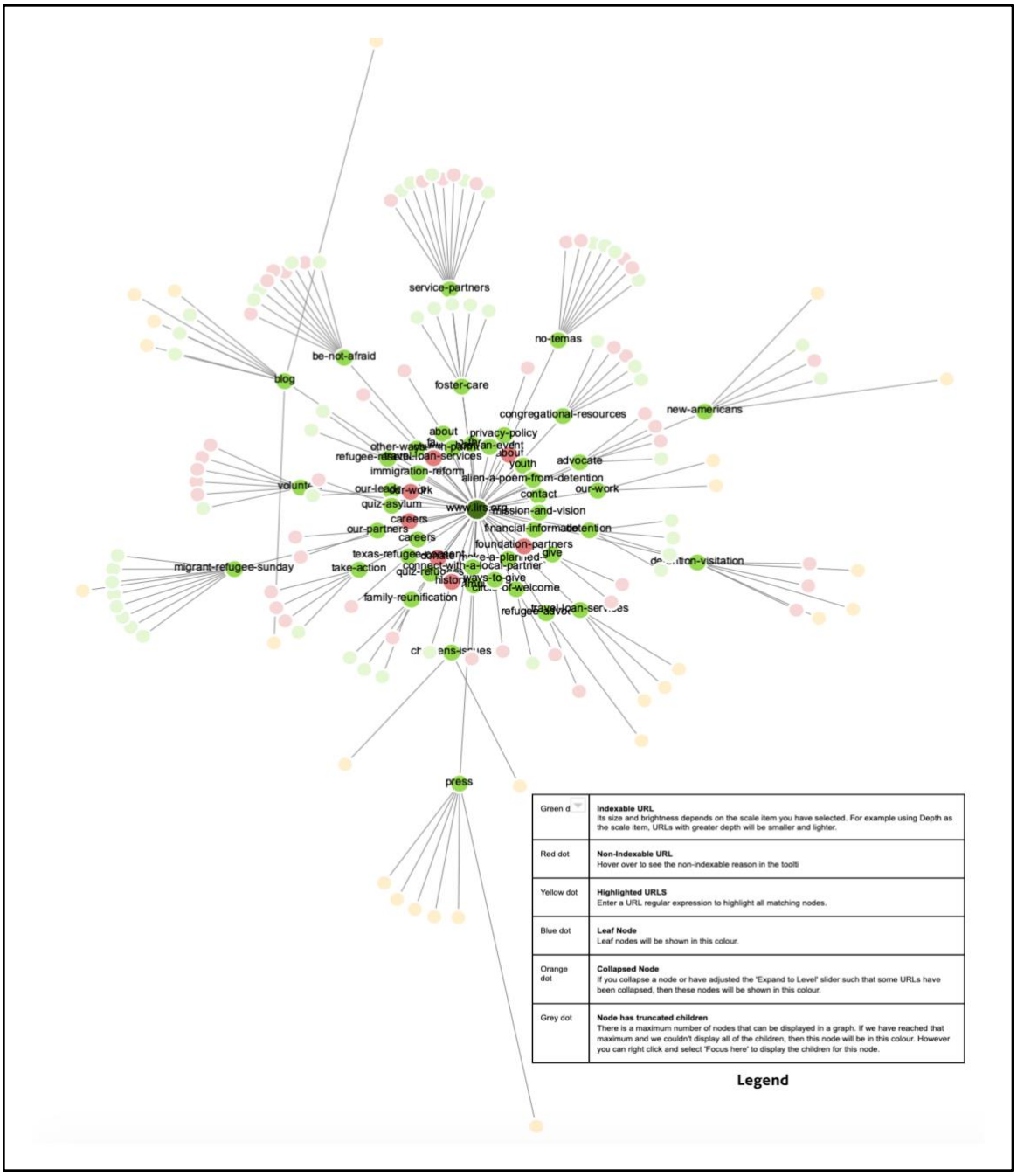
Once I have a working list, I then turn to ScreamingFrog, which is a commercial software aimed mostly at web developers. Please see the Organizational Network Analysis chapter for a discussion of the choice of this software for this part of the analysis. I first use ScreamingFrog's trial version, which is free. However, because of its

limitations (including in the maximum number of hyperlinks pulled), I move on to the subscription version for crawling the list of organizations. Crawling involves pulling hyperlinks from the website of each organization on the list. Unfortunately, ScreamingFrog does not allow for crawling multiple sites at the same time. Each site has to be separately crawled. Each site yields thousands of hyperlinks.

ScreamingFrog can output data into a spreadsheet as well as visually representing the hyperlinks in each website crawled. Figure 3.1 shows an example of ScreamingFrog's visual representation of a website's hyperlinks. As Figure 3.1 shows, ScreamingFrog can provide powerful visuals, representing the nodes and edges in the hyperlink network. However, the visual is difficult to work with given how difficult it is to distinguish between the nodes. ScreamingFrog's data output in an Excel spreadsheet is more useful for analysis purposes. These data tables form the basis of the analysis for the organizational network analysis chapter of the dissertation.

Figure 3.1

Network for the Organization LIRS (from ScreamingFrog)



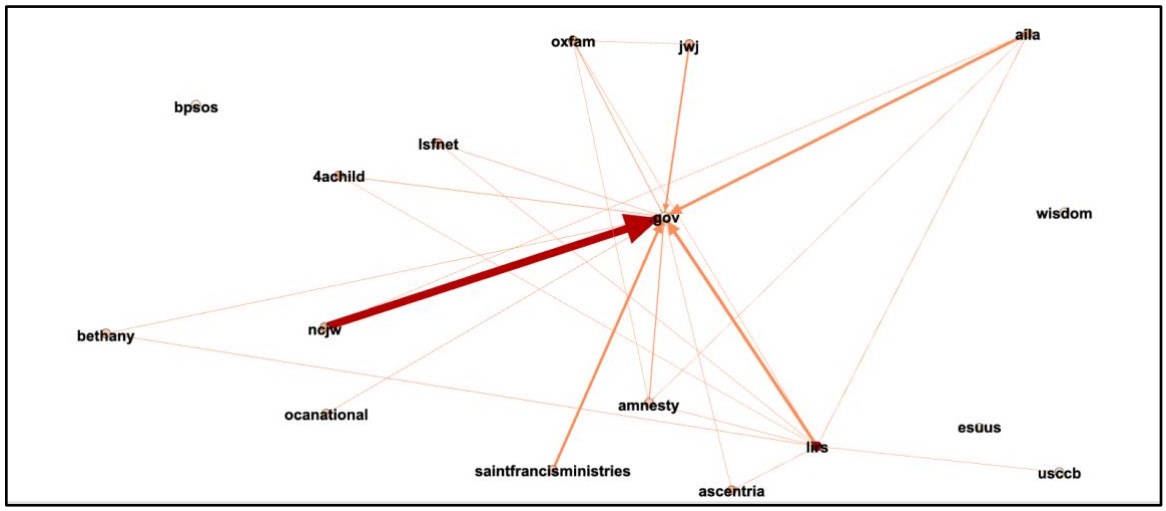
Since ScreamingFrog can only plot the networks for each website separately, its mapping was not ideal for this dissertation. To build the network of immigration organizations, I manually clean the outlinks spreadsheets for each immigration organization in Table 3.2. This allows me to determine the number of hyperlinks (and

their directions) connecting each organization to each other. I then create a network data table in Excel, which I input into Gephi to visualize the connections. Gephi is an open-source network analysis and visualization software.

The first map from Gephi shows that government websites dominate the network (see Figure 3.2). To determine which government agency is most prominent, I run the list of outlinks (from all organizations in Table 3.2) through Antconc, which is a freeware concordancer software created by Laurence Anthony. This analysis reveals the top government agencies in the harvested hyperlinks from our list of immigration organizations in Table 3.2.

Figure 3.2

Network of Immigration Organizations with Gephi



Overall, the analysis conducted for the overview of the network of immigration organizations allows me to determine which two organizations (i.e. LIRS and USCIS) to use for further study (i.e. for the Twitter analysis and website analysis chapters).

Website Analysis

Once the network is built, I identify the top two organizations that emerge as central to the network. For the website analysis chapter of the dissertation, I analyze the websites of these organizations. Given the nature of the content of these websites, I draw on the literature on web design and content strategy to inform the analysis. In particular, I use the multimodal framework Pauwels (2012) developed. This 6-phases framework provides a comprehensive step by step website analysis guide. In Table 3.3 below, I detail each phase in Pauwels' framework and how I apply each phase during the website analysis stage of the dissertation.

Table 3.3

Pauwels' Multimodal Framework and its Application in the Dissertation

Phase	Description of Phase	Application of Phase
1	Preservation of First Impressions and Reactions	Recorded my first impressions of the top two organizations and the 'look and feel' of the websites at first glance
2	Inventory of Salient Features and Topics	Performed a content audit of the websites using Google Sheets
3	In-Depth Analysis of Content and Formal Choices	Performed Applied Thematic Analysis put forth by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012). Used Saldana (2016) and NVivo for coding
4	Embedded Point(s) of View or 'Voice' and Implied Audience(s) and Purposes	Analyzed the the stated and implied

		audiences, and what the websites were asking of their audiences
5	Analysis of Information Organization and Spatial Priming Strategies	Examined the information organization of the websites, noting the positioning of different sections, the various control mechanisms, outer directed features, content grouping, visual content organization, and structural relationships
6	Contextual Analysis, Provenance and Inference	Examined the websites in light of the social justice context, including noting design elements and whose voices are included

In Pauwels' phase one, I record my first impressions of the top two organizations (please see chapter 4 for details). These include my affective reactions as well as the 'look and feel' of the websites at first glance. In phase two, I perform a content audit of the websites using a Google Sheet spreadsheet.

Phase three of Pauwels' (2012) framework is the most time consuming and important part of the framework. In phase three, I use Applied Thematic analysis (developed by Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012) to examine the collected content in Pauwels' phase two. For coding, I also rely on Saldaña's *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2016) in which he describes various coding methods. Coding

occurs in two cycles. Saldaña writes: “first cycle methods are those processes that happen during the initial coding of data” (p. 68). The second cycle is “to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from [the] array of first cycle codes” (p. 234).

In the first cycle of coding, I use Antconc to determine the 25 top occurring words in the page names for each organization. I also find the concordances of these top occurring words to understand the contexts in which they occur (a Keyword-In-Context, i.e. KWIC, approach). This cycle gives me initial codes and the ways they are used in the page names. In the second cycle, similar to Breuch (2018), I write analytical memos from these top occurring words and their concordances as well as potential larger categories. This cycle gives me the broader categories that inform the page names.

So, to summarize, I use Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) and Saldaña (2016) to inform the analysis in the third phase of Pauwels’ (2012) framework. The goal of this analysis is to identify the key topics and issues and stances towards those topics and issues.

In Pauwels’ fourth phase, I analyze the points of view offered alongside questions of authorship (and dominant narratives), and the stated and implied audiences for these websites. This phase also involves looking at what the websites were asking of their audiences, such as subscribing, donating, and so on. As Pauwels (2012) noted, this phase aligns itself with the first phase and can be facilitated with elements drawn from phase three.

In phase five, I examine the information organization of the websites. This phase includes noting the positioning of different sections, which reflects what the

organizations value and choose to emphasize. The fifth phase also involves noting the various control mechanisms, such as passwords, rules of conduct, copyright disclaimers, privacy invading practices, and so on, as well as the outer directed features, such as chat rooms, email contacts, and so on (Pauwels, 2012, p. 258). Such mechanisms and features indicate the level of interactivity these websites seek and the behaviors expected of the website viewer.

In Pauwels' final phase, I examine the context of the websites. This phase includes studying the origin and circumstances of the different cultural elements (Pauwels, 2012, p. 258). As Pauwels points out:

> Design and infrastructure may be political in its consequences (and even in its inception), to the extent that it precludes certain uses or users (e.g. because a certain expensive tool is needed or when a particular knowledge or skill is required) or stimulates a certain conduct or choice. Thus technologies and platforms in and by themselves (templates, browsers, programming languages, data base structures, graphic tools), with (and without) certain functionalities already embody certain cultural norms. p. 259

Therefore, phase six involves examining the political element of the website content and design, which itself involves paying attention to who is included and excluded and the conduct and choices expected of included viewers. This phase also involves examining the cultural norms embodied by the content and design of the websites. This analysis depends on the question of authorship studied in phase 4 because the cultural norms portrayed reflect the authors' choices and their intended effects on the audiences.

Applying Pauwels' (2012) framework to the analysis of the organizations' websites allows me to both examine the content and design of the chosen websites using both a multimodal and intercultural lens. This analysis sheds light on the information that these organizations disseminate through their websites as well as their targeted audiences for this information. It also illustrates the main goals of the organizations' online presence through their website.

Twitter Analysis

Following the website analysis, I turn to the Twitter analysis. For the Twitter analysis chapter of the dissertation, I conduct a content analysis of the Twitter accounts of the two immigration organizations I studied above (i.e. @LIRSorg and @USCIS). Twitter data is considered public data. Collecting and studying this data is therefore IRB exempt. Social media has the advantage of capturing instant reactions of users seeing organizations' tweets as well as capturing what organizations prioritize in these platforms that cater to large audiences. To provide insight into the ways these two immigration organizations use Twitter to disseminate information, this analysis examines how these two organizations interact with other organizations and people. It also provides insight into the audiences that each Twitter account targets. This analysis also examines whose voices these two organizations prioritize and amplify. Finally, this analysis examines both the ways each organization discusses immigrants and immigration as well as the kinds of information they provide to immigrants and non-immigrants in their tweets.

Collecting data.

To collect tweets, I use TAGS. TAGS, a program created by Martin Hawksey, automatically collects Twitter data using a Google sheet template. TAGS can collect multiple elements from Twitter, including tweets' contents, hashtags used, time stamp of the tweets, location of tweets, replies to tweets, likes for tweets, users' friends and/or followers count, and retweet count. TAGS collects tweets in real time. Tweets are pulled using TAGS between January 7th 2020 and June 11th 2020 (which is approximately 5 months' worth of data).

I use TAGS to collect both tweets and any associated information (including the elements mentioned above, such as replies, likes, and so on) for the chosen immigration organizations. LATIS (Dr. Michael Beckstrand) helped me set up TAGS to collect this associated information through TAGS, which is useful in answering my research question about the function of social media in how immigration organizations deploy their online presence to help immigrants.

While pulling tweets from @LIRSorg and @USCIS, TAGS also pulls tweets from users replying to @LIRSorg and @USCIS. However, I have not included these replies in the analysis because these are beyond the scope of the dissertation, which is mainly concerned with the information that immigration organizations disseminate.

Data Analysis.

In this chapter of Twitter analysis, I follow Breuch (2018) and use an applied thematic analysis framework. Please see above for an overview of applied thematic analysis. Following Saldaña (2016), I do two cycles of coding. The first cycle is divided

into two stages per Goodman and Light (2016). In the first stage of the first cycle, I use attribute coding (see Saldaña, 2016, p. 83) to analyze the metadata associated with the tweets. In particular, I examine the tweeting rhythms, hashtags used, urls present, retweet counts, and reply counts. The first stage of the first cycle of coding offers insight into the general tweeting behaviors of @LIRSorg and @USCIS. In the second stage of the first cycle, I use Antconc to determine the top occurring words in the corpus of tweets for each organization. I also find the concordances of these top occurring words to understand the contexts in which they occur (a Keyword-In-Context, i.e. KWIC, approach). This cycle gives me initial in vivo codes (see Saldaña, 2016, p. 105) and the ways they are used in the tweets. As I mentioned above, the thematic applied analysis approach allows for using any tools, including KWIC, that can shed light on data. Note that the in vivo coding of the second stage of the first cycle coding revealed emotions and pronouns that can lead to emotion coding (p. 124) and versus coding (p. 136) - see the results for this stage of coding results in the Twitter chapter. However, I did not recode the data with these two latter coding procedures since their focus would not have allowed me to answer my research question for this dissertation.

In the second cycle, similar to Breuch (2018), I use focus coding and write analytical memos using the data and results from both stages of the first cycle of coding. So, I examine the results of the metadata analysis (from the first stage of first cycle coding) and the top occurring words and their concordances (from the second stage of first cycle coding). I repeat this process three times, with a week in between, in an effort to improve the reliability of the analysis (see Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012,

chapter 4). This cycle aims at discovering larger themes that permeate throughout the data.

Overall, this analysis provides insight into the ways these two immigration organizations use Twitter to disseminate information. In addition, it sheds light into how these two organizations interact with others and the audiences they target. This analysis also examines the voices these two organizations prioritize and amplify. Finally, this analysis examines the kinds of information @LIRSorg and @USCIS provide to their audiences in their tweets.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I detail the methods I use to determine how immigration organizations deploy their online presence. In the organizational network analysis chapter, I perform a hyperlink analysis to create an overview of the network of national immigration organizations in the US. I use this network to pick two top organizations central to the network. In the Website analysis chapter, I analyze these organizations' websites using Pauwels' (2012) framework. Finally, in the Twitter analysis chapter, I analyze these organizations' Twitter accounts. In the next three chapters, I offer the results of the analyses conducted.

Chapter 4: Organizational Network Analysis

In this chapter, I discuss a hyperlink network analysis of our list of immigration organizations. This dissertation is focused on how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information. To answer this question, it is essential to determine which organizations dominate the web in terms of immigration discourses. Therefore, the goal of this chapter is to highlight a network of national immigration organizations and determine which organization is central to this network. While network analysis has not been used with immigration organizations before, it has proven useful in examining organizations in other fields (e.g. see Basov & Minina, 2018; Zwijze-Koning & de Jong, 2015). For example, Basov and Minina (2018) used network analysis to study an innovation cluster in Portugal to determine how organizational collaborations correspond to personal ties among members. They found that "cross-boundary organizational collaborations corresponded with personal ties" and that "collaborations appeared to correlate most strongly with emotional attachments between individuals" (p. 373). Thus , they noted that "personal networks form the basis of integration and cooperation between organizations" (p. 378). Zwijze-Koning and de Jong (2015) showed how network analysis can be applied to assess communication in organizations and uncover communication problems. Their work focused on network analysis in communication audits.

Once we build the network of immigration organizations, we can zoom in on the most important organization in the network for further analysis (i.e. for website and Twitter analyses) in the next chapters of the dissertation.

Chapter Overview

This chapter determines which immigration organizations are more central to the network. To create this network, I crawled the organizations' websites for hyperlinks. The results show that a few organizations emerge as well-connected to other organizations while some organizations did not have any connections to any other immigration organizations from our original list. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services (LIRS; 1st ranking) and Amnesty (2nd ranking) emerge as the central organizations in the network. In addition, these organizations extensively hyperlink to .gov sites. Among the .gov links, USCIS (from DHS) emerges as a particularly good candidate for the next part of the dissertation analysis (i.e. website analysis). Therefore, I will examine the websites of LIRS and USCIS in the next chapters of the dissertation.

Procedure

As discussed in the methods chapter, I first compiled a list of immigration organizations (please see methods chapter for a discussion on how these were collected). Table 4.1 shows the list along with each organization's web address.

Table 4.1

List of Immigration Organizations with their URLs

	Organization Name	**URL**
1	American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA)	https://www.AILA.org/
2	Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS)	https://www.LIRS.org/

3	Boat People SOS, Inc.	https://www.bpsos.org/
4	Lutheran Services Florida, Inc.	https://www.lsfnet.org/
5	Wisdom Inc.	https://wisdomwisconsin.org/
6	National Council of Jewish Women Incorporated	https://www.ncjw.org/
7	International Christian Adoptions	http://4achild.org/
8	OCA-Asian Pacific American Advocates	https://www.ocanational.org/
9	Ascentria Care Alliance	https://www.ascentria.org/
10	Saint Francis Ministries, Inc.	https://saintfrancisministries.org/
11	Jobs with Justice Education Fund	https://www.jwj.org/
12	English Speaking Union of the United States National Headquarters	http://www.esuus.org/esu/
13	Bethany Christian Services	https://bethany.org/
14	United States Conference of Catholic Bishops	http://www.usccb.org/
15	Amnesty International USA Inc.	https://www.amnestyusa.org/
16	Oxfam-America Inc.	https://www.oxfamamerica.org/

Once the list of organizations under study was established, I tried numerous software to pull hyperlinks from each website. The goal was to obtain a complete list of hyperlinks from each site so that each site's relation to other sites, especially other immigration organizations, can be examined. I explored three programs for crawling purposes: IssueCrawler, SocSciBot and ScreamingFrog. The first two are free programs

developed by academic institutions. They have been used repeatedly in various hyperlink studies (Maier et al, 2018; Rogers, 2012; Lusher & Ackland, 2011; Thelwall, 2008). However, most of these studies date back to the early 2010s. These programs repeatedly failed to successfully crawl most of the websites on my list. After a lot of troubleshooting, I realized the issue was with the encryption on most of these websites. In fact, the documentation on the SocSciBot site outright says that it processes http sites only. While IssueCrawler does not mention this, I think that it may have the same problem. The archives of crawls made on IssueCrawler show that the program has produced good results for http sites but always yielded no results for https sites. Therefore, I concluded that IssueCrawler and SocSciBot could process only sites with the http protocol but not the https protocol (in simple terms, https is an encrypted version of http). After some digging, I learned that Google has been pushing for websites to use the https protocol a few years back. Since the organizations on my list used the https protocol, neither IssueCrawler nor SocSciBot could adequately crawl them.

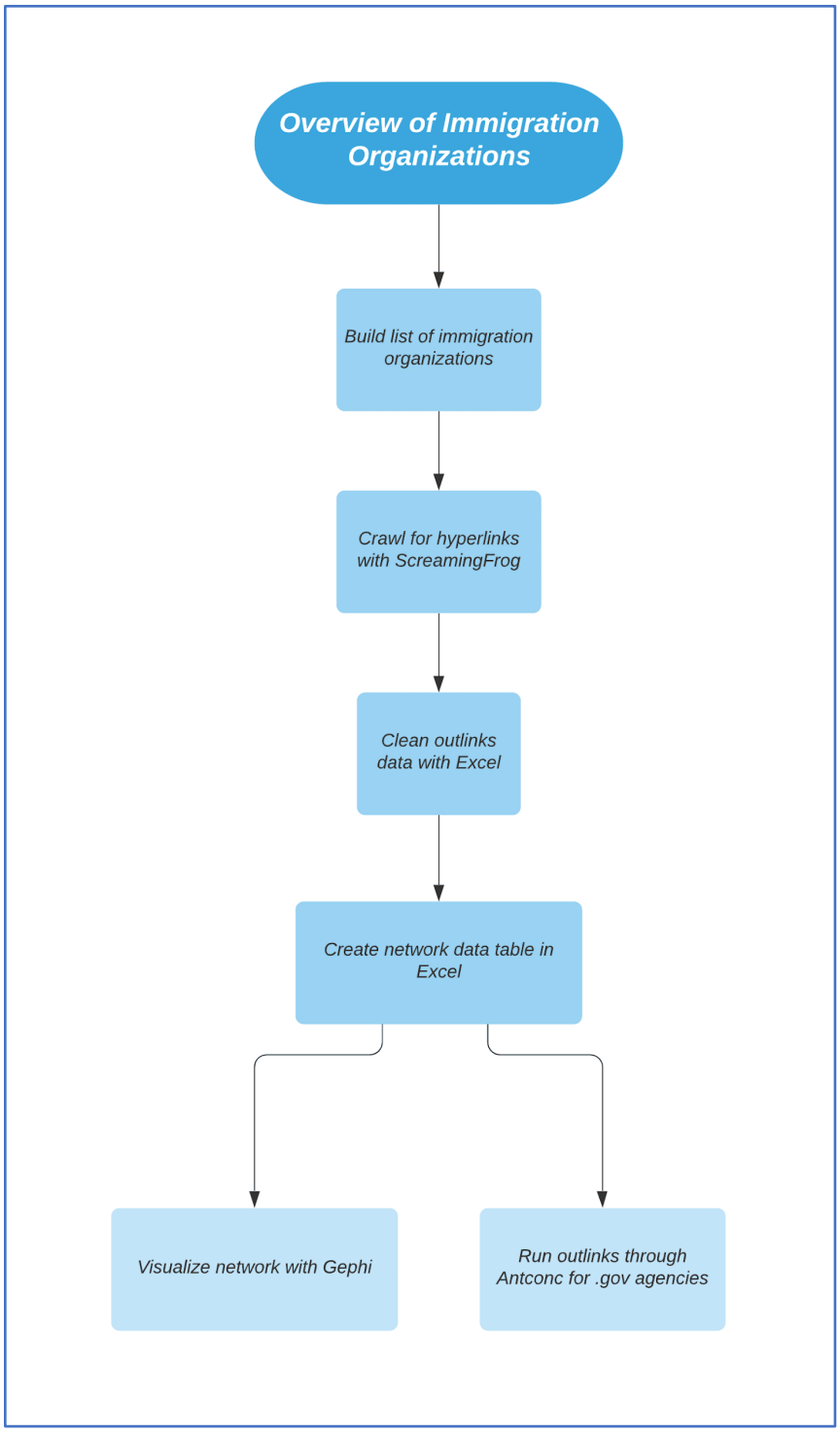
I then turned to ScreamingFrog. This is a commercial software aimed mostly at web developers. I first tried its trial version, which was free. However, because of its limitations (including in the maximum number of hyperlinks pulled), I moved on to the subscription version for crawling the list of organizations. Unfortunately, ScreamingFrog does not allow for crawling multiple sites at the same time. Each site had to be separately crawled. Each site yielded thousands of hyperlinks.

Note that hyperlink network analysis presents some issues related to the nature of the collected data. Many network analyses use tools like surveys/questionnaires and/or interviews to gather data on which networks are built. Hyperlink network analyses, on the

other hand, rely on hyperlinks harvested from websites. As Park and Thelwall (2003) noted, “no systematic examination of how hyperlink networks among the Web sites (or pages) reflect social relations among their producers has been undertaken” (p. 9). Therefore, while reflecting online connections, hyperlinks networks do not necessarily reflect actual relations existing among organizations. Hence, an organization can maintain connections with another organization (e.g. through hosting events, sharing resources, etc.) without hyperlinking to that organization’s website. Nevertheless, while hyperlinks may not reflect social relations, many studies have used this technique to investigate online networks and the centrality of websites (see Kropczynski & Nah, 2010; Maier, Waldherr, Miltner, Jahnichen & Pfetsch, 2018). Given that my concern here is with the online presence of immigration organizations, I believe that relying on hyperlinks will yield satisfactory results. Figure 4.1 shows the procedures taken in this chapter.

Figure 4.1

Procedure Flowchart


Overview of Immigration Organizations
Build list of immigration organizations
Crawl for hyperlinks with ScreamingFrog
Clean outlinks data with Excel
Create network data table in Excel
Visualize network with Gephi
Run outlinks through Antconc for .gov agencies

Ethics

At this point, it is important to discuss the ethics of the procedure outlined above. There are two prominent ways to collect website data: scraping and crawling. Technopedia described scraping thus:

> [Scraping] is done with software that simulates human Web surfing to collect specified bits of information from different websites. Web scraping is essentially a form of data mining….The practice of Web scraping has drawn a lot of controversy because the terms of use for some websites do not allow certain kinds of data mining. Despite the legal challenges, Web scraping promises to become a popular way of collecting information as these kinds of aggregated data resources become more capable. (from https://www.techopedia.com/definition/5212/web-scraping)

As Technopedia stated, scraping is a highly controversial practice that has generated questions about its legality (see also the Association of Internet Researchers' *Internet Research: Ethical Guidelines 3.0*). Besides the question of terms of use, web scraping with a software is particularly taxing to websites (a software can send many more requests to a site per minute than a human can). Therefore, I tend to see web scraping as a technique to avoid in research.

Web crawling is another way to automatically collect website data. Crawling works in a slightly different way to scraping. Technopedia described crawling thus:

> A Web crawler is an Internet bot which helps in Web indexing. They crawl one page at a time through a website until all pages have been indexed. Web crawlers

> help in collecting information about a website and the links related to them, and also help in validating the HTML code and hyperlinks…. Web crawlers are also used in data mining, wherein pages are analyzed for different properties like statistics, and data analytics are then performed on them. (from https://www.techopedia.com/definition/10008/web-crawler)

Web crawlers have many uses, especially for web search engines. While they are less controversial than scraping, crawlers have issues of their own. Thelwall and Stuart (2006) noted that crawlers can present four issues: denial of service, cost, privacy and copyright (p. 1774). They noted that commercial search engine crawlers tended to use checking software to ensure that high demands are not placed upon individual networks (p. 1774). This addresses the concern of burden on the websites.

One of the main issues from the list above is the question of privacy and copyright. Thelwall and Stuart (2006) noted that "while some researchers advocate the need for informed consent (Lin & Loui, 1998), others disagree and emphasize the extreme complexity of the issue (Jones, 1994)" (p. 1775). While much information on the web is arguably in the public domain, there are still ethical issues of privacy depending on how the information collected is being used. There are various mechanisms that website owners employ to control the information crawlers (and any other mining tool) collect. It is common practice now for website owners to use the robots.txt mechanism to opt out of being crawled (p. 1775). This mechanism provides instructions to crawlers to not crawl certain areas of the site or the entire site. The following HTML tag can also be embedded in a Web page to instruct crawlers to neither index the page nor follow any links from the page:

```
<meta name='robots' content='noindex,nofollow' />
```

To determine whether a website has this tag, one can simply right-click on the site and select ‘View Page Source.’ The HTML codes for the page (including any information about robots) can then be viewed. In our list of immigration organizations, Wisdom and USCCB had such a tag. Therefore, ScreamingFrog did not crawl them.

Finally, even though the rest of the organizations did not have any directions for crawlers, I also checked their policies for any mention of crawling. None of the sites has any policy governing crawling. Many sites only mention a broad copyright claim: ‘All rights reserved.’ A few other sites do not mention any copyright policy at all. Only Amnesty and AILA provide detailed copyright policies. However, these policies do not mention crawling.

Regardless of the websites’ lack of direction on crawling, I have opted to only collect hyperlinks from ScreamingFrog and no other data. In so doing, I aim at minimizing any potential for violation of privacy and/or copyright of the materials on these websites.

Results

Although I originally wished to display the hyperlink networks of each organization in one diagram, this became impossible. ScreamingFrog could not combine the networks it pulled for each organization into one diagram. I pasted all the outlinks into Excel and uploaded them into Gephi, a free visualization software. Unfortunately, this only showed several networks within one diagram without any connection with each other. To fix it, I would have needed to go into the list of all outlinks on Excel and correct

them so that the data showed their interconnectedness instead of showing a compilation of each separate network. I decided against this since this would be too time consuming given the number of outlinks overall (numbering in the thousands).

So, I instead used Excel to create a table (Table 4.2) to show the number of times each organization outlinked to another immigration organization. The last column in Table 4.2 is particularly interesting. It represents the number of times government agencies' outlinks from each immigration organization. Since these agencies are essential in providing immigration information, I included these agencies in the table. I discuss these later in the chapter in more detail.

Table 4.2

List of organizations' citations (outlinks) per organization

.	aila	lirs	bpsos	lsfnet	wisdom	ncjw	4achild	ocanational	ascentria	saintfranci sministries	jwj	esuus	bethany	usccb	amnesty	oxfam	catholicchar	.gov
aila	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	646
lirs	27	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	30	9	17	2	6	714
bpsos	0	0	0		0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
lsfnet	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
wisdom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ncjw	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1899
4achild	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	63
al	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
ascentria	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
isministrie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	587
jwj	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	355
esuus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
bethany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
usccb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
amnesty	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	163
oxfam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	77
Total/# links	38	17	0	7	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	30	9	20	8	9	4592
Total/# orgs	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	2	12

As Table 4.2's second to last row shows, the organizations who are cited most often are AILA, Amnesty, and .gov (all denoted by the color red). Note that Amnesty includes both Amnestyusa.org and Amnesty.org. Lsfnet, Ascentria, Bethany, and Usccb (highlighted in green in table 4.2) are organizations who are cited frequently. However, they are cited by only one organization. For example, Bethany is cited 30 times by LIRS. Given that only one organization cites each of these frequently, I have omitted them from the list of potential organizations to include in the next stage of the dissertation.

The last row in Table 4.2 shows the number of organizations connected to each organization. LIRS and Amnesty are the organizations linked to the greatest number of organizations (i.e. they are each connected to three organizations). AILA, Oxfam, and CatholicCharities are each linked to two organizations each.

Based on Table 4.2, Amnesty is the only organization that is among the top cited and among those who are connected to the most number of organizations. Figure 4.2 below shows the results of ScreamingFrog's crawl for Amnesty. ScreamingFrog describes its force-directed crawl diagrams thus:

> The force-directed crawl diagrams are like a heat-map, with the start URL represented by the darkest green, largest node (the circles) in the middle. This is generally the homepage if you started the crawl there. The lines (known as 'edges') represent the link between one URL and another. The nodes that are slightly smaller than the largest node and are connected by links are URLs that are the next crawl depth level, and as they get further away, the nodes are scaled smaller and lighter with increasing crawl depth. (from https://www.screamingfrog.co.uk/site-architecture-crawl-visualisations/).

Force-directed diagrams are produced using force-directed algorithms which are methods for calculating layouts of simple graphs. Stephen G. Kobourov notes on one of Cornell University's Computer Science pages, "Graphs drawn with [force-directed] algorithms tend to be aesthetically pleasing, exhibit symmetries, and tend to produce crossing-free layouts for planar graphs" (https://arxiv.org/abs/1201.3011).

Figure 4.2

Force Directed Crawl Diagram for Amnesty Outlinks

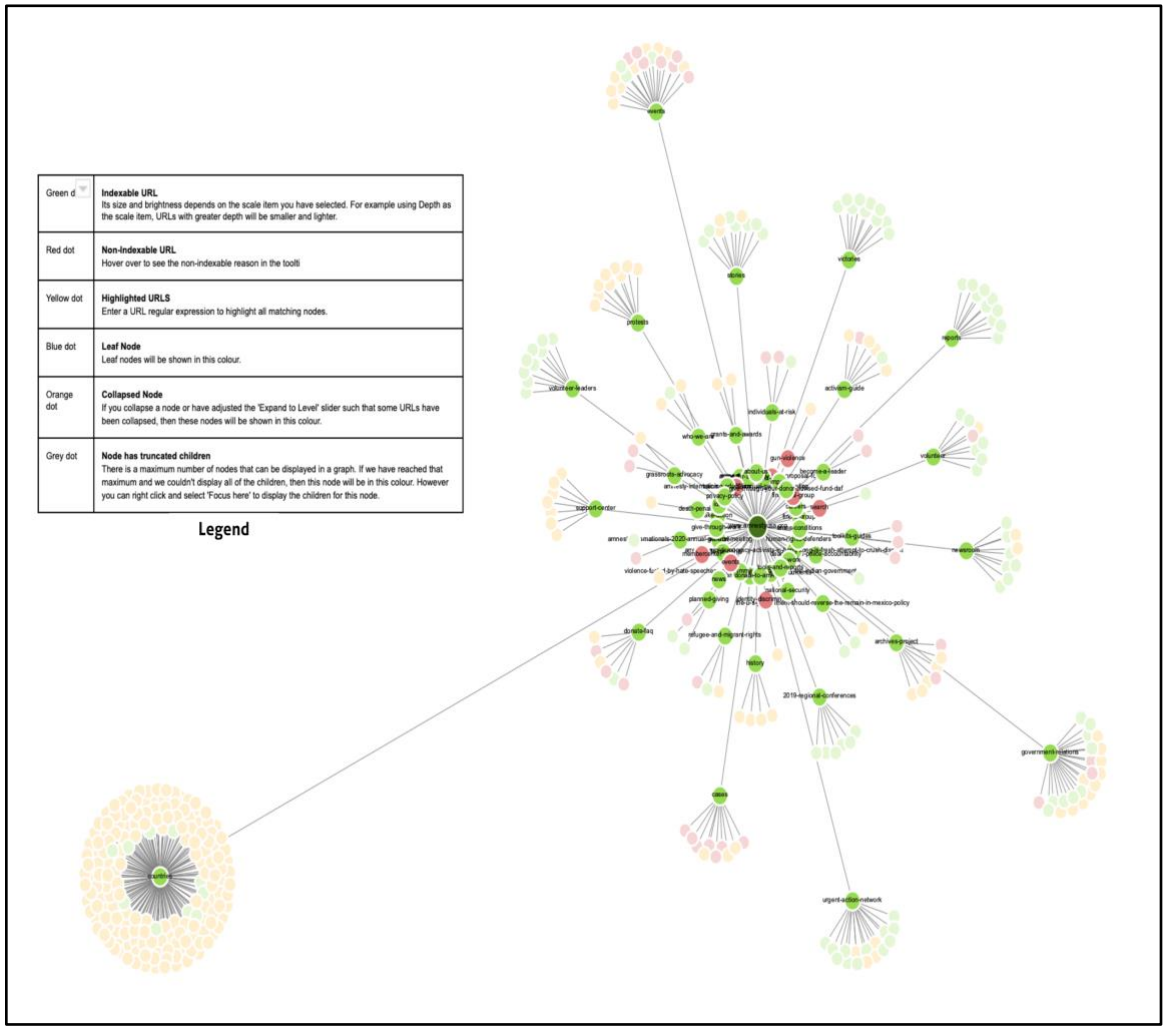
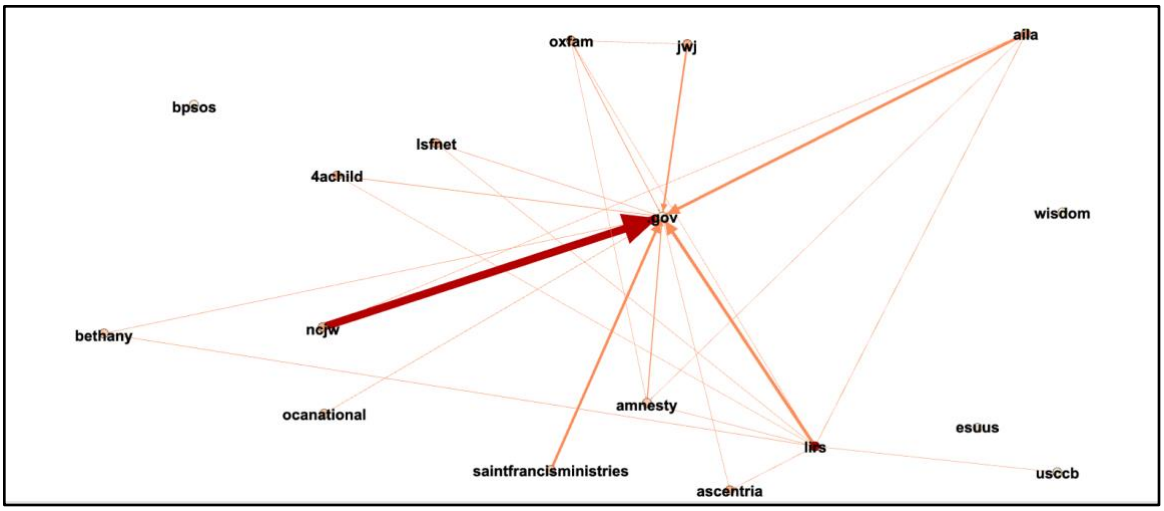


Figure 4.2 shows the various clusters of outlinks for Amnesty. The cluster at the bottom lower left corner stands out in the crawl diagram. It represents the nodes and edges around the node labeled 'Countries.' The high number of nodes surrounding this node indicates that there are numerous outlinks coming from the page 'Countries,' indicating that this page is a prominent part of Amnesty's website. Given how closely spaced the nodes at the first crawl depth level (except for the node 'Countries' discussed above), it is difficult to distinguish among the nodes and edges. With increasing crawl depth levels, we can better see both the nodes and their edges. I should note that some nodes lead to only one other node while some nodes lead to clusters of nodes. From the crawl diagram that ScreamingFrog generates, it is difficult to see which first crawl depth level node leads to which cluster. Therefore, as Figure 4.2 shows, the crawl diagrams that ScreamingFrog creates are too cluttered for further analysis. I have therefore used the data from Table 4.2 to plot network diagrams for the overview of the immigration organizations with Gephi. Gephi is an open-source and free visualization software.

Figure 4.3 shows the network of immigration organizations including .gov. The size (weight) of the edges (arrows) is dependent on the strength of connections between organizations. The strength of connections is dependent on the number of hyperlinks (i.e. outlinks in this case) between each organization. The darker the color of the nodes (each organization is represented by a node), the higher the number of hyperlinks from each organization.

Figure 4.3

Network of Immigration Organizations with Gephi



However, Figure 4.3 is dominated by .gov, which receives a very high number of links to most of the organizations present. Figure 4.4 shows the same network but without .gov, which allows for a clearer view into the relationships among the other organizations. The network is dominated with LIRS, which has strong connections to several other organizations. LIRS has outlinks to eight organizations and inlinks from three organizations. It clearly features centrally in the network of immigration organizations. Note that there are a few organizations which have no connections to each other. These include: Ocanational, Bpsos, Saint Francis Ministries, Wisdom and Esuus.

Figure 4.4

Network of Immigration Organizations (Without .gov)

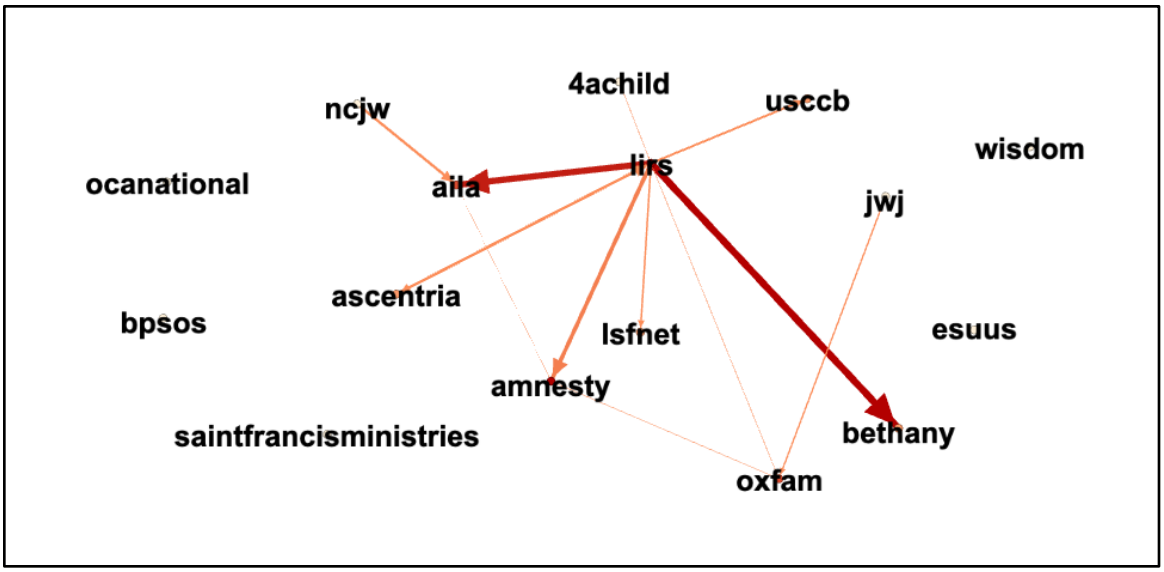


Figure 4.5 shows the same network but without the labels (i.e. the organizations' names next to their nodes). Note that the position of the nodes have not been changed from Figure 4.4 to Figure 4.5. Both figures are directed graphs. That is, the edges represented by arrows show the direction of the hyperlinks. Figure 4.5 provides a clearer picture into the network by showing the direction of the edges more clearly. For example, LIRS does not have any outlink to 4achild but 4achild does some outlinks to LIRS. Similarly, LIRS has some outlinks to Amnesty but Amnesty does not have any outlink to LIRS.

Figure 4.5

Network of Immigration Organizations (Without .gov) With Edges and Without Labels

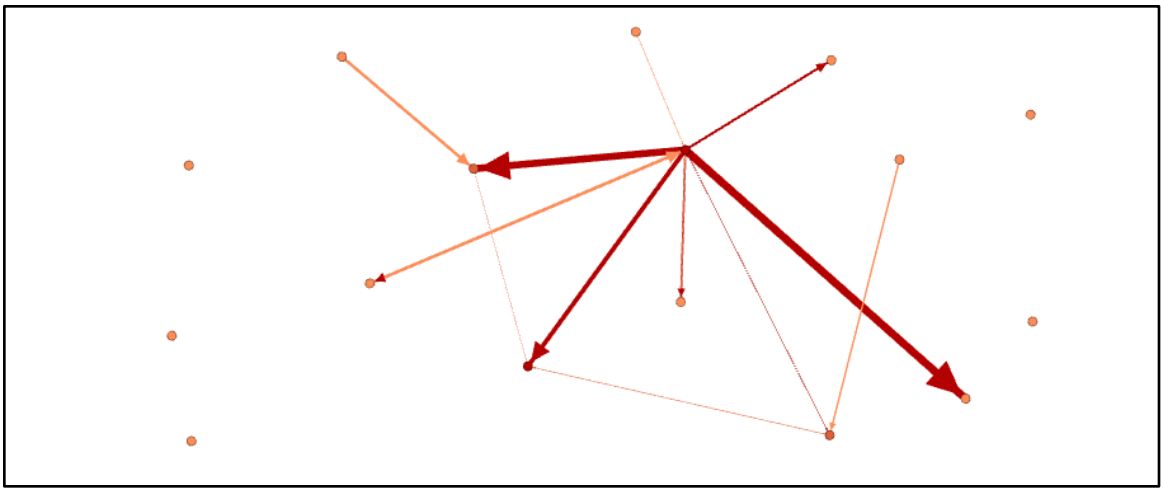


Figure 4.6 shows the network first with only the nodes without labels and then with only the nodes with labels. Placing them side by side helps with easy identification of each node to its corresponding label. Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8 shows larger versions of the same graphs for easy viewing.

Figure 4.6

Network of Immigration Organizations (Without .gov) Without Edges and Without Labels (Left); Network of Immigration Organizations (Without .gov) Without Edges and With Labels (Right)

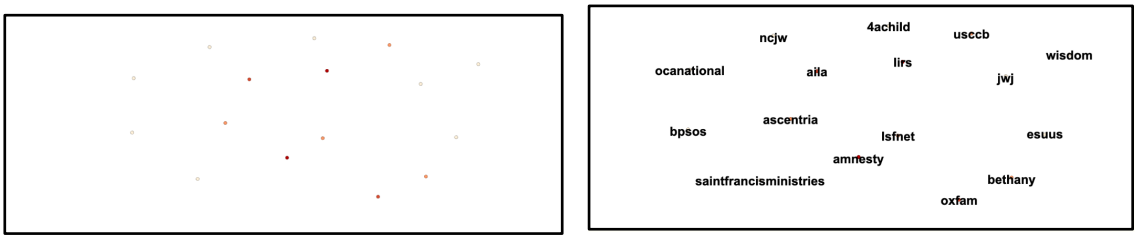


Figure 4.7

Network of Immigration Organizations Without .gov) Without Edges and Without Labels

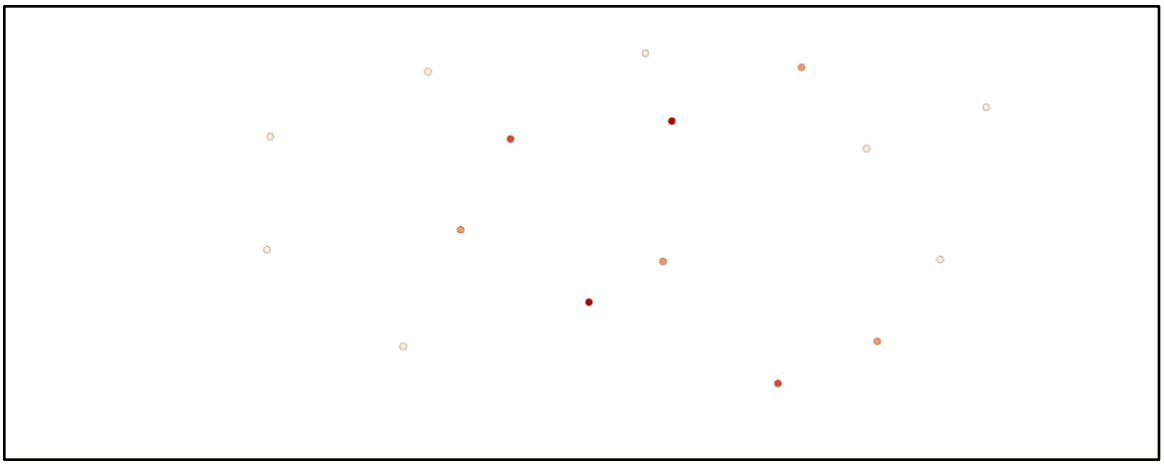
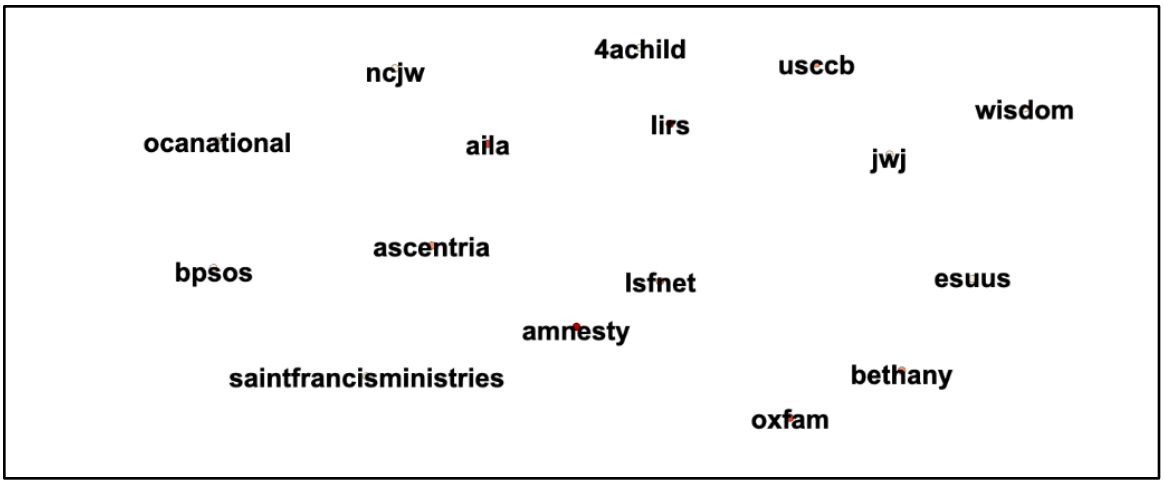


Figure 4.8

Network of Immigration Organizations (Without .gov) Without Edges and With Labels



The darker the nodes in the three figures above, the more connected the organization is to other organizations. These figures show that LIRS' and Amnesty' nodes are the darkest, which again emphasize their importance to the network. AILA and Oxfam are the second darkest. Note that some of the palest nodes, such as Bpsos, have no connections to other nodes. These results, of course, confirm what Table 4.2 showed. The diagrams are nevertheless important in that they help us visualize the results of Table 4.2.

Given these results, .gov, LIRS and Amnesty emerge as organizations that are key to the network of immigration organizations.

Key Network Features

I will now turn to key statistics that characterize the network. To find these, I used UCINET which is a software developed by Lin Freeman, Martin Everett and Steve Borgatti. UCINET has been widely used by network analysis researchers (Zwijze-Koning & de Jong, 2015; Raisi, Baggio, Barratt-Pugh & Willson, 2018). These statistics can shed light on the network of immigration organizations.

One of the key statistics regularly found in network analyses is network density. Network density is the ratio between the total numbers of actual ties and of potential ties. Network density allows us to measure the connectivity of the network. The network of immigration organizations has a network density of 0.546. Table 4.3 shows the Freeman's degree centrality for each node (i.e. each organization).

Table 4.3

Freeman's Degree Centrality

	Organization	**Outdegree**	**Indegree**
1	AILA	1	38
2	LIRS	107	17
3	Bpsos	0	0
4	Lsfnet	3	7
5	Wisdom	0	0
6	Ncjw	11	0
7	4achild	5	0

8	Ocanational	0	0
9	Ascentria	12	9
10	SaintFrancisministries	0	0
11	Jwj	6	0
12	Esuus	0	0
13	Bethany	0	30
14	Usccb	0	9
15	Amnesty	0	20
16	Oxfam	2	8

Table 4.3 confirms the results observed above with the visualization of the network. LIRS has the greatest outdegree, indicating its high level of influence within the network. AILA, Bethany and Amnesty have the greatest indegree, indicating that they are the ones being the most highly hyperlinked to in the network. As I've argued above though (see Table 4.2), these numbers might be a bit misleading since Bethany receives all of its inlinks from LIRS (i.e. from Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services). Similarly, AILA receives inlinks only from 2 organizations (one of which is LIRS). Amnesty on the other hand receives inlinks from 3 organizations; and so does LIRS. Therefore, while indegree can be an important measure, it can lose its significance if a node receives most of its inlinks from a handful of other nodes.

Similarly, while outdegree can be a powerful indicator of a node's influence in the network, it can also be rendered meaningless if it's connecting to insignificant nodes. For our purposes here though, outdegree centrality remains an important tool. LIRS receives inlinks from 3 organizations (i.e. Lsfnet, 4achild, and Ascentria) and outlinks to 7

organizations (i.e. AILA, Lsfnet, Ascentria, Bethany, Usccb, Amnesty, and Oxfam). This makes LIRS the most connected organization in the network. It serves as a central part of the network.

Furthermore, LIRS serves as a major connection point between nodes. For example, Figure 4.4 shows that LIRS is the node connecting Lsfnet and 4achild. For several nodes, it provides a shorter path of connection. In theory, this means that a user might go from an Lsfnet page to a 4achild page through an LIRS page. The likelihood of this happening however depends on how prominent the hyperlinks connecting each organization are on these organizations' webpages.

Centrality plays an important role in determining who controls information and access to diverse resources. Following Zwijze-Koning and de Jong (2015), I'll now look at isolates (nodes with few network relations), stars (nodes with a central role in the network), and gatekeepers (nodes with a crucial position in the system of information dissemination in the network). Ocanational, Bpsos, Wisdom, SaintFrancisMinistries, Esuus are isolates with no network relations (see Figure 4.4). Since they do not connect with any other immigration organization, they do not play any role in disseminating information through the network. SaintFrancisMinistries and Ocanational do share a minor connection with .gov (see Figure 4.4). To better participate in the network better, they could start hyperlinking to other immigration organizations. Improved relations among organizations are usually dependent on the personal networks of employees in these organizations that often encompass employees in other organizations in the network (Basov & Minina, 2018). So, one way to improve the connectivity of these isolates would be to examine the personal networks of their employees. These employees who have a

central role in their own personal networks might leverage their personal connections to better link their organizations to others in the field.

Based on its central position in the position in the network, LIRS qualifies as a star node (see Figure 4.4). It serves as a powerful connecting node for many of the organizations. Examining its website further will allow us to determine how LIRS uses its position to connect organizations - at least in the online world. I should caution here again that this network is built entirely from hyperlinks on web pages and might not necessarily reflect the behind-the-scenes relations that might connect organizations. However, for the purposes of our research question (i.e. how do immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information), focusing on the relations shown by hyperlinks is not only adequate, but necessary. Indeed, a person seeking immigration information might not necessarily contact an organization but might simply use their online resources and therefore, explore these hyperlinks to other organizations.

In Figure 4.3, .gov qualifies as a gatekeeper. .gov only receives inlinks and does not outlink to any immigration organization. This one-sided connection makes .gov particularly powerful in the network and allows it to control information flowing through the network. This makes sense of course, given that immigration rules/laws are usually created by the government and disseminated through government websites. Immigration organizations then link to pages containing these information as they help immigrants navigate various immigration processes.

In terms of reciprocity, I should note that only Lsfnet and Ascentria reciprocate LIRS' connection. So, one of the questions we could ask is: why isn't there more

reciprocity from the other organizations hyperlinks to? Unfortunately, without interviewing those in charge of web content at these organizations, it is difficult to answer this question or to further interpret these findings.

Now that we've looked into some of the key features of the network and its individual nodes, I turn to a more thorough discussion of the government links. .gov includes a number of government agencies from various departments. I discuss the particularities of .gov below.

Government agencies

In Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2, .gov appears to be the most frequently cited among the outside organizations (i.e. organizations not included among the main organizations under study). .gov represents a broad range of government agencies. To find which agencies were included in .gov, I combined the crawls from all immigration organizations on the list into a .txt file. I then ran this file through Antconc, which is a free software developed by Laurence Anthony. Antconc is a corpus analysis tool.

Through Antconc, I was able to find the top agencies featured among .gov. Table 4.4 shows the top government websites to which immigration organizations outlinks.

Table 4.4

List of Government Sites Cited

Rank	Link	# times cited	Affiliated Department
1	hhs.gov	563	Department of Health and Human Services (hhs.gov)
2	reginfo.gov	275	General Services Administration (https://www.gsa.gov/)
3	uscis.gov	161	Department of Homeland Security (dhs.gov)

4	ice.gov	142	Department of Homeland Security (dhs.gov)
5	justice.gov	112	Department of Justice (justice.gov)
6	www.state.gov	97	Department of State (state.gov)
7	federalregister.gov	94	National Archives and Records Administration (archives.gov) - independent agency
8	dhs.gov	90	Department of Homeland Security (dhs.gov)
9	dol.gov	62	Department of Labor (dol.gov)
10	travel.state.gov	56	Department of State (state.gov)
11	ssa.gov	52	Department of Health and Human Services (hhs.gov)
12	cbp.gov	48	Department of Homeland Security (dhs.gov)
13	consumerfinance.gov	48	Independent agency with affiliation from US Federal Reserve and US Treasury Department
14	supremecourt.gov	47	Independent - Judicial branch of govt
15	eeoc.gov	37	Department of Labor (dol.gov)
16	uscourts.gov	35	Judicial branch of govt

Table 4.5 summarizes Table 4.4 to show the list of government agencies by department, omitting the General Services Administration, archives and the judicial branch.

Table 4.5

List of Major Departments Cited

Rank	Link	# Times Cited	Affiliated Department
1	hhs.gov + ssa.gov	615	Department of Health and Human

			Services
2	uscis.gov + ice.gov + dhs.gov + cbp.gov	441	Department of Homeland Security
3	www.state.gov + travel.state.gov	153	Department of State
4	justice.gov	112	Department of Justice
5	dol.gov + eeoc.gov	99	Department of Labor

As Table 4.5 shows, the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) is most often referenced by the list of immigration organizations. The reason behind this is likely because the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) is located within HHS. It is also the department responsible for providing various social services, such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP).

However, despite its importance for immigration organizations, HHS is not the department that is regularly linked with immigration. In the public eye, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is the one that is associated with immigration - and often in a negative way. The most infamous DHS agency that regularly dominates headlines is Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). The other particularly interesting DHS agencies are U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) and Customs and Border Protection (CBP). USCIS nicely summarizes the differences between the three agencies in their 'About Us' info:

> We were formed to enhance the security and improve the efficiency of national immigration services by exclusively focusing on the administration of benefit

applications. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Customs and Border Protection (CBP), components within DHS, handle immigration enforcement and border security functions. (from https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history)

Therefore, ICE, USCIS and CBP operate in slightly different but interlinked areas of immigration. While ICE is the agency at the heart of many immigration controversies, I am particularly interested in USCIS because of its role in processing immigration documents.

USCIS is the agency that provides the following services: citizenship, immigration of family members, working in the US, verifying an individual's legal right to work in the US, humanitarian programs, adoptions, civic integration, and genealogy (https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/what-we-do). Therefore, in the course of their immigraiton experience in the US, it is highly likely that immigrants will have to deal with USCIS. For example, when refugees need to file for a green card or citizenship, they would turn to USCIS. Similarly, various categories of workers (e.g. H-1B, H-2A, H-2B, etc.), students and others turn to USCIS to process their documentation. USCIS' importance in immigration is further highlighted by the high number of hits it received (see Table 4.4). Therefore, USCIS is the agency I will focus on among the .gov agencies cited in the immigration organizations' websites.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the network of immigration organizations to determine which of these organizations are more central to the network. After crawling for

hyperlinks in the organizations' websites, the results were placed in a table which was used to create a visual of the network. This analysis showed that a few organizations emerge as well-connected to other organizations while some organizations did not feature any connections to any other immigration organizations from our original list.

This chapter shows that LIRS (1st ranking) and Amnesty (2nd ranking) emerge as the central organizations in the network. In addition to these immigration organizations, .gov links emerged as highly prominent in these crawls. Among the .gov links, USCIS (from DHS) emerges as a particularly good candidate for the next part of the dissertation analysis (i.e. website analysis). I will focus on the top ranking organization and the most prominent government agency for further analysis. Therefore, I will examine the websites and Twitter of LIRS and USCIS in the next part of the dissertation.

This chapter has allowed me to determine which organizations are central to the network and which ones are on the periphery of the network. Understanding an organization's position in the network is important to determine which organizations dominate the web with their online presence. For instance, LIRS' numerous online connections to other organizations positions it as a key figure in the online presence of immigration organizations. Examining LIRS' website and Twitter would be particularly helpful, then, in better understanding how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information.

Limitations

This analysis has several limitations which I discuss below. A key question that emerges from the analysis in this chapter is: why do central organizations (like LIRS) share more connections to others compared to those on the periphery of the network (like

Saint Francis Ministries)? It is difficult to fully answer this question because of the limited nature of the data gathered through crawling. Therefore, future research can address this question by interviewing the content creators for these immigration organizations' websites to discuss the choices they make when hyperlinking. Following Basov and Minina (2018), in future research, we might also turn to the personal networks of these employees to determine how employees who are central in their personal networks might leverage their personal connections to improve the online relations among organizations. We might also determine through observations and interviews whether any of those online connections are a product of actual social relations among organizations. Finally, we might find ways to bolster both actual social relations and online relations among organizations by delving into their own visions for both the organizations and their websites.

Another limitation in this study is the lack of focus on the user-side of websites. Therefore future research could focus on the user-side and determine whether users go from one organization's website to another's website from the hyperlinks. That is, we could determine whether the hyperlinks are indeed allowing users to connect organizations with each other through their online browsing behavior. However, this might be a tricky proposition since multiple elements might influence how someone uses these websites and their hyperlinks. Some of these elements include questions of access, the kind of information needed, who is using these websites, etc.

In the next chapter, I explore LIRS' and USCIS' websites and offer an in-depth examination of the content that they present on their websites as well as the way they

present this content. In so doing, I shed light on how these organizations use their online website presence to disseminate information.

Chapter 5: Website Analysis

In the previous chapter, I surveyed the network of national immigration organizations in the US. I identified LIRS and USCIS as the two organizations that merit further study. LIRS lies at the heart of the network of immigration organizations and USCIS is a key government agency within that network. In this chapter, I analyze the websites of these two organizations, present and discuss results.

The goal of the dissertation is to examine how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information. One of the key online spaces organizations occupy is their websites. This online space is particularly salient because organizations have complete control over their design and use of their website spaces. As such, websites not only serve as an important communication tool for organizations eager to share information about their services (or their area of expertise/work), but they also serve to shape and represent organizations' identities to their customers, employees, and members of the public. Compared to social media which have been rapidly changing with platforms gaining popularity and fading from the fabric of digital life, websites seem to be a staple of the digital life of organizations. While the design and use of websites have changed over time, websites themselves remain as a key element of an organization's communication strategy.

To answer the main research question of how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information, it is essential to examine the websites of key immigration organizations (i.e. LIRS and USCIS). Therefore, the goal of this chapter is to shed light on the kind of information that is distributed through these organizations' websites.

Chapter Overview

This chapter examines how LIRS and USCIS use their websites to disseminate information. I first offer a brief description of the procedure used to examine each website. Finally, I present and discuss the results of the analysis conducted using Pauwels (2012) framework.

The analysis shows that LIRS and USCIS tend to use their websites in different ways. Each website targets different audiences and offers different types of content. While LIRS' website focuses on engaging site visitors with advocacy (through online and offline options), USCIS' website focuses on publishing/sharing and processing immigration documents. These different emphases come from each organization's mission. LIRS is an advocacy organization while USCIS is a government agency whose purpose is to handle immigration applications. Their respective missions influence the content they offer on their websites and the audiences they target through their websites.

In the section below, I briefly discuss the procedure in analyzing LIRS' and USCIS' websites.

Procedure

After looking at @LIRSorg and @USCIS, I now turn to these two organizations' websites. To start this analysis, I use the Wayback Machine, which periodically archives each website. The idea for the Wayback Machine started in 1996 when the Internet Archive began archiving websites. The Wayback Machine is owned and operated by the Internet Archive, which is a nonprofit library of digital artifacts such as books, movies, and websites. It works by crawling websites, helped by tools provided by others such as Alexa Internet.

The Wayback Machine offers several archived versions of each website. I've selected the archive version corresponding to the middle of the period of data collection for Twitter. Tweets were collected between January 7th 2020 and June 11th 2020. So, I select the version of each website the Wayback Machine archived on March 21st 2020 (about halfway between January 7th and June 11th). I choose this version rather than a version earlier in the year or later in the year because I want to capture the websites as they were about halfway through the Twitter data collection so that I can see how well the content of the websites matched the content of the tweets.

I use the multimodal framework Pauwels (2012) developed. This six-phase framework provides a comprehensive step by step website analysis guide. In Table 5.1 below, I detail each phase in Pauwels' framework and how I apply each phase during the website analysis stage of the dissertation.

Table 5.1

Pauwels' Multimodal Framework and its Application in the Dissertation

Phase	Description of Phase	Application of Phase
1	Preservation of First Impressions and Reactions	Recorded my first impressions of the top two organizations and the 'look and feel' of the websites at first glance
2	Inventory of Salient Features and Topics	Performed a content audit of the websites using Google Sheets
3	In-Depth Analysis of Content and Formal Choices	Performed Applied Thematic Analysis put forth by Guest, MacQueen and

		Namey (2012). Used Saldana (2016) and NVivo for coding
4	Embedded Point(s) of View or 'Voice' and Implied Audience(s) and Purposes	Analyzed the the stated and implied audiences, and what the websites were asking of their audiences
5	Analysis of Information Organization and Spatial Priming Strategies	Examined the information organization of the websites, noting the positioning of different sections, the various control mechanisms, outer directed features, content grouping, visual content organization, and structural relationships
6	Contextual Analysis, Provenance and Inference	Examined the websites in light of the social justice context, including noting design elements and whose voices are included

In phase one, I record my first impressions of the top two organizations. These include my affective reactions as well as the 'look and feel' of the websites at first glance. In phase two, I perform a content audit of the websites using Google Sheets. Halvorson and Rach (2012) indicate that one should identify the goals of an audit, and the audit factors and scope of the audit before starting an audit. The goal of this audit is to gain an understanding of the key content of LIRS' and USCIS' websites through the titles

they assign to their content. In terms of audit factors, I identify the following: Page ID, Page Name, Page Type, Description, Site Analyzer, and URL. Finally, the scope of the audit is the top two layers of each website.

Phase three of Pauwels (2012) framework is the most time consuming and important part of the framework. In phase three, I use Applied Thematic analysis (developed by Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012) to examine the collected content in phase two. For coding, I also rely on Saldaña's *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2016) in which he describes various coding methods. Coding occurs in two cycles. Saldaña writes: "first cycle methods are those processes that happen during the initial coding of data" (p. 68). The second cycle is "to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from [the] array of first cycle codes" (p. 234).

In the first cycle of coding, I use Antconc to determine the 25 top occurring words in the page names for each organization. I also find the concordances of these top occurring words to understand the contexts in which they occur (a Keyword-In-Context, i.e. KWIC, approach). This cycle gives me initial codes and the ways they are used in the page names. In the second cycle, similar to Breuch (2018), I write analytical memos from these top occurring words and their concordances as well as potential larger categories. This cycle gives me the broader categories that inform the page names.

So, to summarize, I use Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) and Saldaña (2016) to inform the analysis in the third phase of Pauwels' (2012) framework. The goal of this analysis is to identify the key topics and issues and stances towards those topics and issues.

In the fourth phase, I analyze the stated and implied audiences for these websites. This phase also involves looking at what the websites are asking of their audiences, such as subscribing, donating, and so on. As Pauwels (2012) notes, this phase aligns itself with the first phase and can be facilitated with elements drawn from phase three.

In phase five, I examine the information organization of the websites. This phase includes noting the positioning of different sections, which reflects what the organizations value and choose to emphasize. The fifth phase also involves noting the various control mechanisms, such as passwords, rules of conduct, copyright disclaimers, privacy invading practices, and so on, as well as the outer directed features, such as chat rooms, email contacts, and so on (Pauwels, 2012, p. 258). Such mechanisms and features indicate the level of interactivity these websites seek and the behaviors expected from website visitors.

In the final phase, I examine the websites through the social justice angle from technical and professional communication. This phase includes studying the design of each website, especially in light of Petersen's (2016) empathetic user design. It also involves studying issues of power and privilege, through examining the voices that each website includes. This analysis depends on the analysis done in the previous 5 phases.

Applying Pauwels (2012) framework to the analysis of the organizations' websites allows me to both examine the content and design of the chosen websites through various elements, focusing on questions key to social justice (such as issues of power and inclusion). This analysis sheds light on the information that immigration organizations disseminate through their websites as well as their targeted audiences for

this information. It also illustrates the main goals of the organizations' online presence through their websites.

Phase 1

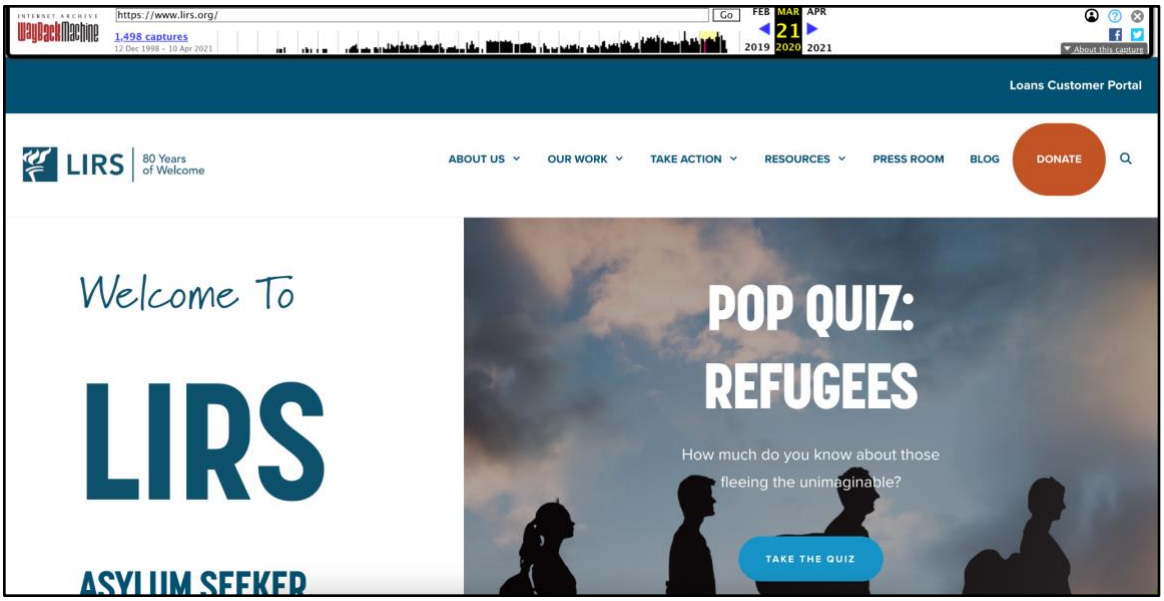
In this phase, I record my first impressions of the top two organizations' websites. I start with a description of my first impressions of the LIRS website before moving on to discuss the USCIS website.

LIRS

For LIRS, the first element of the website that jumps out is the basic structure (see Figure 5.1). At the very top of the page with a dark blue background, the words "Loans Customer Portal" are written in white. Right below is the header with the LIRS logo on the left hand side. On the opposite side, we can see a menu, listing the following: about us, our work, take action, resources, press room, blog and donate. The "donate" button is highlighted in dark orange. This suggests that LIRS is placing an emphasis on donations, making it easier for site visitors to readily see how they can financially contribute to LIRS. Next to it, we can see a search option.

Figure 5.1

View of the First Look as the LIRS Homepage Opens



Hovering over each item on the menu allows visitors to see a drop down menu for each item. Under 'about us,' we can see the following items: history, mission & vision, our leadership, our partners (which further leads to service partners, church partners, and foundation partners), careers, and financial information. Under 'our work,' we can see the following items: refugee resettlement, refugee youth career pathways, foster care services, family reunification, empowering new Americans, welcoming migrants, and engaging communities. Under 'take action,' we can see the following items: advocate (which further leads to refugee resettlement, children's issues, and immigration reform), host an event (which further leads to host a migrant & refugee Sunday, request a speaker, and breaking bread), volunteer (which further leads to circle of welcome, connect with a local partner, and detention visitation), and give (which further leads to one time donation, give monthly, make a tribute gift, make a planned gift, and other ways to give). Under 'resources,' we can see the following items:

quiz (refugees), quiz (asylum seekers), migrant & refugee Sunday, faith on the move, be not afraid, and no temas. There are no drop down menu items under 'press room,' 'blog,' and 'donate.' Note that some menu items are repeated. For example, visitors can reach the migrant and refugee Sunday page via 'take action'→ 'host an event' or via 'resources.' Providing multiple pathways for visitors to reach a given destination page creates a certain level of redundancy on the website. This can help visitors not miss key information.

Right below that header with the menu, the homepage is divided into horizontal panels through which the user scrolls. Note that the header with the menu disappears as the user scrolls through the homepage panels. The first panel is divided into two columns: the left column offers a welcome and the right column prompts users to take a quiz about refugees. Right from the first panel, users understand that LIRS serves asylum seekers, immigrants and refugees. Figure 5.2 shows the first panel for the LIRS homepage. This panel has a white background with dark blue and white writing.

Figure 5.2

First Panel of LIRS' Homepage

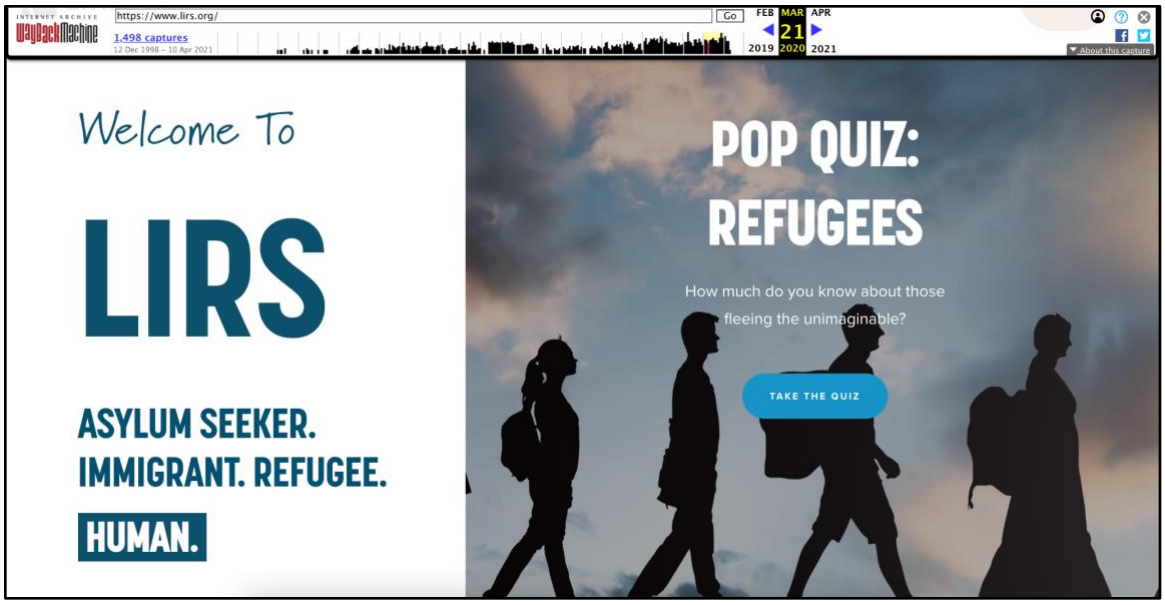


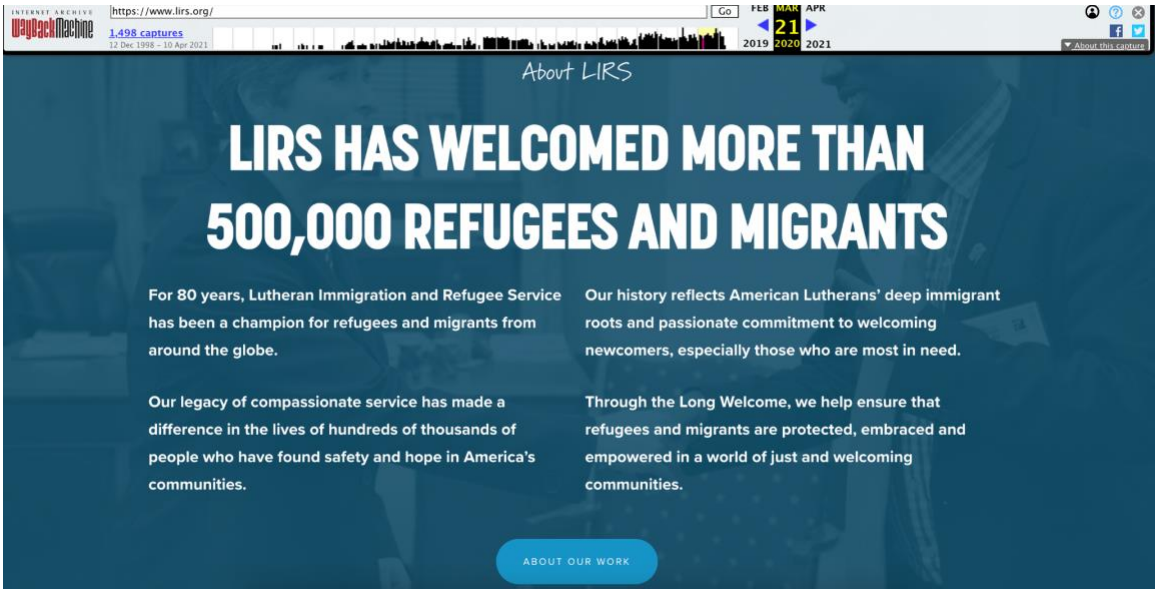
Figure 5.2 shows the emphasis that LIRS places on the word "human," which is bolded and written in full caps. This reflects a similar messaging about shared humanity that LIRS emphasizes on its tweets. The right hand column with the pop quiz on refugees suggests that the LIRS website, at least at first glance, is targeted towards people who are trying to educate themselves about migrants. This column is unlikely to be directed at migrants themselves or those individuals who regularly work closely with migrants.

Figure 5.3 shows the second panel on the homepage. This panel has a dark blue background with white writing. This panel focuses on offering brief background information on the work that LIRS does. The words that this panel uses again emphasizes that LIRS views migrants in a positive light. For example, the title on this panel uses the word "welcomed" and the body of the description includes "compassionate service," "safety and hope," "passionate commitment to welcoming newcomers," and "refugees and migrants are protected, embraced and empowered in a world of just and welcoming communities." Finally, this panel also highlights that Lutherans in the US have a lot in

common with migrants; the panel speaks of "American Lutherans' deep immigrant roots." The last element on this panel is the button leading site visitors to another page where they can learn more about LIRS' work.

Figure 5.3

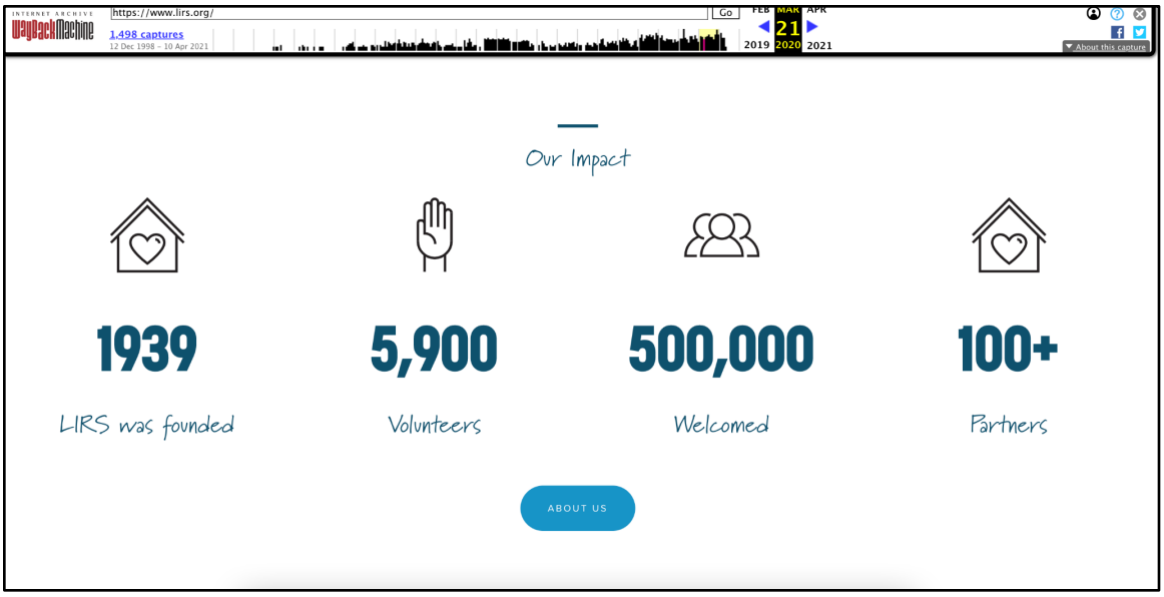
Second Panel of LIRS' Homepage



The third panel (see Figure 5.4) has a white background with dark blue writing. This panel continues the messaging from the second panel. The third panel highlights key facts about LIRS. This panel suggests that LIRS is a highly effective organization, impacting the lives of thousands of migrants and collaborating with thousands of people, including volunteers and other partners. This panel therefore highlights the human connections that characterize LIRS' impact. Just like in the previous panel, this panel also includes a button that takes site visitors to a page where they can learn more about LIRS.

Figure 5.4

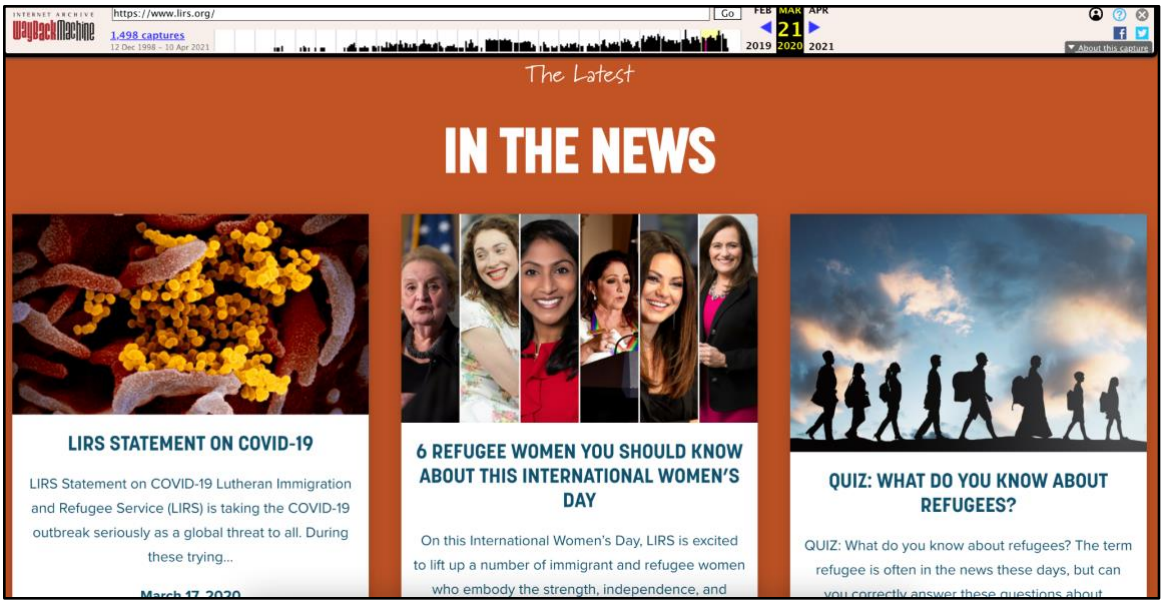
Third Panel of LIRS' Homepage



The fourth panel of the homepage has an orange background with white writing. The panel is divided vertically into three columns. Each column has a white background with dark blue writing. This panel displays the latest news coming from the organization. Each column displays one news story. The first column focuses on COVID, which is not unexpected given that the pandemic was starting to gain importance in the US. The second column focuses on recent news, i.e. on International Women's Day, which is celebrated on March 8 every year. The third column mirrors the right hand column of the first panel; this column is a quiz about refugees. Overall, the fourth panel serves the same purpose as the previous columns in providing more information. However, this panel slightly shifts the focus from LIRS as an organization to insights on the topic of migration itself, especially with the second and third columns.

Figure 5.5

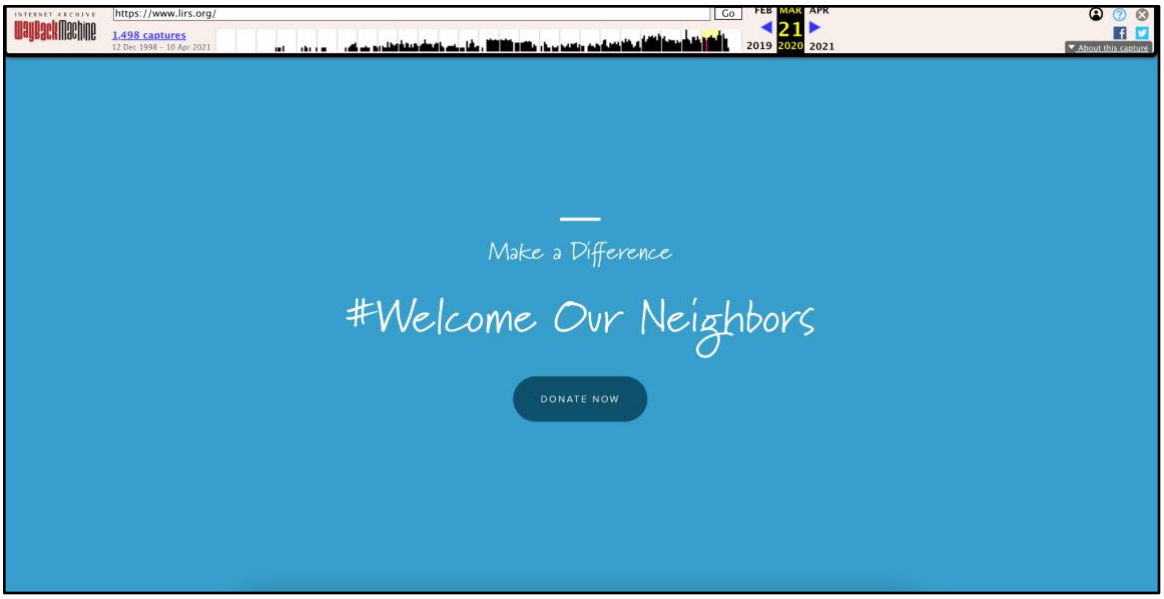
Fourth Panel of LIRS' Homepage



The fifth panel has fewer visual elements. It has a lighter blue background with white writing. The panel has only 6 words and a "Donate Now" button. While this panel solicits donations, it also re-emphasises the focus that LIRS places on welcoming migrants with the words "#Welcome Our Neighbors." This suggests that donors are also supporting welcoming migrants. Finally, this panel highlights that site visitors can take action. More importantly, they can take action simply through online payments (i.e. not requiring time or physical commitments), thereby making it easier for individuals to take action, especially if they have a busy schedule. Within the context of COVID (dominating the news during that time - i.e. around March 2020), this option also allows individuals to take action while still self isolating within the safety of their homes.

Figure 5.6

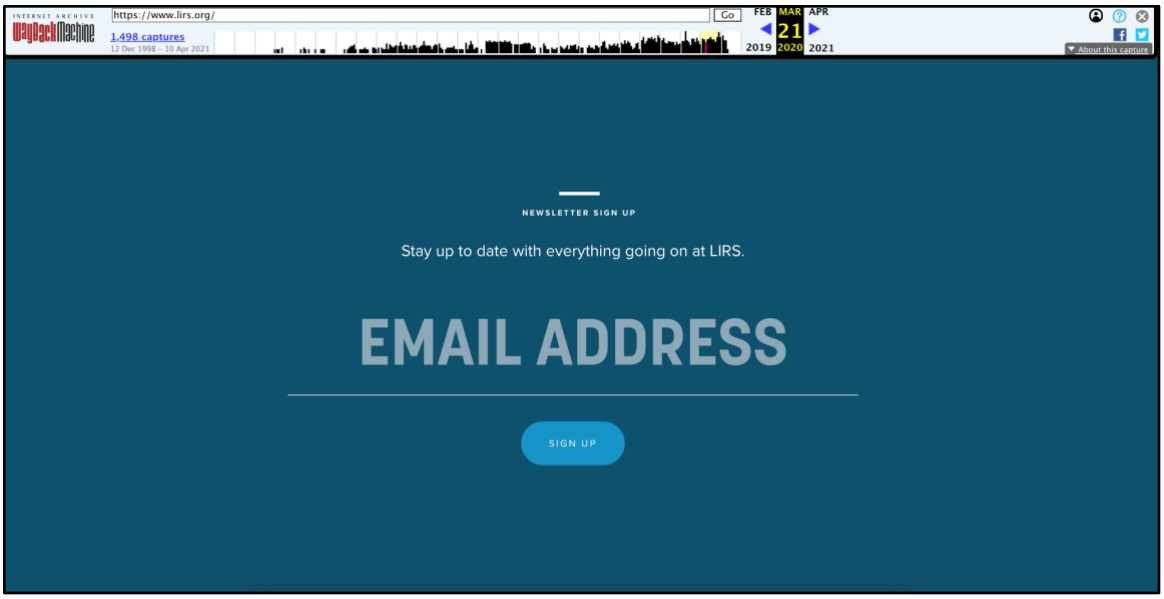
Fifth Panel on the LIRS' Homepage



The sixth panel is the final major panel. It has a dark blue background with white and pale blue writing. This panel also features few elements. This panel asks site visitors to share their email addresses so that they can stay up to date with LIRS' work. Just as with the previous panel, this panel asks site visitors to take a relatively simple action: joining LIRS' mailing list. By asking visitors to join their mailing list, LIRS is ensuring that they build a long term relationship with site visitors. As individuals receive regular updates from LIRS, they might become more invested in the organization's work and therefore become more likely to contribute to LIRS' mission either through donations or volunteering. However, I should note that mailing lists only provide the opportunity for one-sided conversations since the communication comes from LIRS without reciprocating communication from subscribers.

Figure 5.7

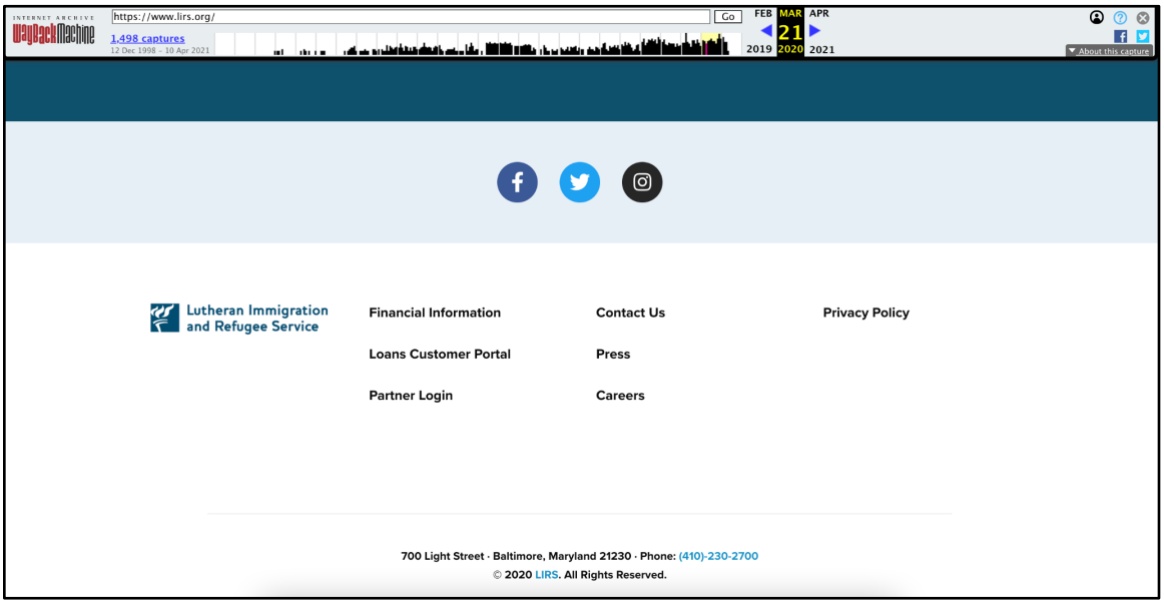
Sixth Panel on the LIRS' Homepage



The space below the last panel is divided into two sections (see Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8

Bottom of the LIRS' Homepage



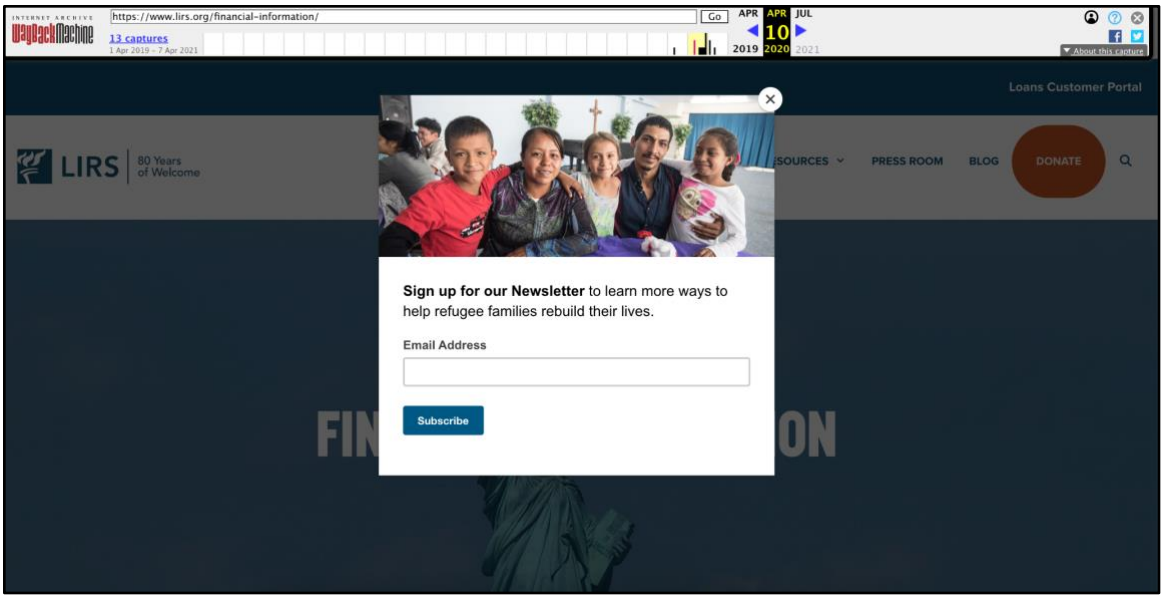
The first section has a very light blue background with no writing. There are three icons at the center for Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. These icons connect site visitors directly with LIRS' social media. The second section (at the very bottom of the

homepage) has a white background with dark blue and black writing. The left hand side has the LIRS logo. The rest of the section offers the following menu: financial information, loans customer portal, partner login, contact us, press, careers, and privacy policy. Some of this information is being repeated from other areas of the homepage. For example, the very top of the homepage also has a button taking visitors to the loans custom portal. Similarly, the menu at the top of the homepage also connects visitors to the press room. However, this section also provides visitors with some new pages to visit. The last part of that second section provides the street address and phone number of LIRS and offers a copyright notice.

As site visitors scroll through the homepage, a notice appears, asking visitors to sign up for LIRS' newsletter (see Figure 5.9). This notice mirrors the request on the sixth panel. This redundancy ensures that LIRS has a higher chance of reaching visitors and encouraging them to sign up for updates from LIRS. As I mentioned above, building long term relationships with visitors can be particularly beneficial to LIRS as individuals can become more involved with LIRS' cause and work. This can prompt them to donate to or volunteer with LIRS, or otherwise take action to welcome migrants.

Figure 5.9

Notice on the Homepage Asking Visitors to Sign Up for LIRS' Newsletter



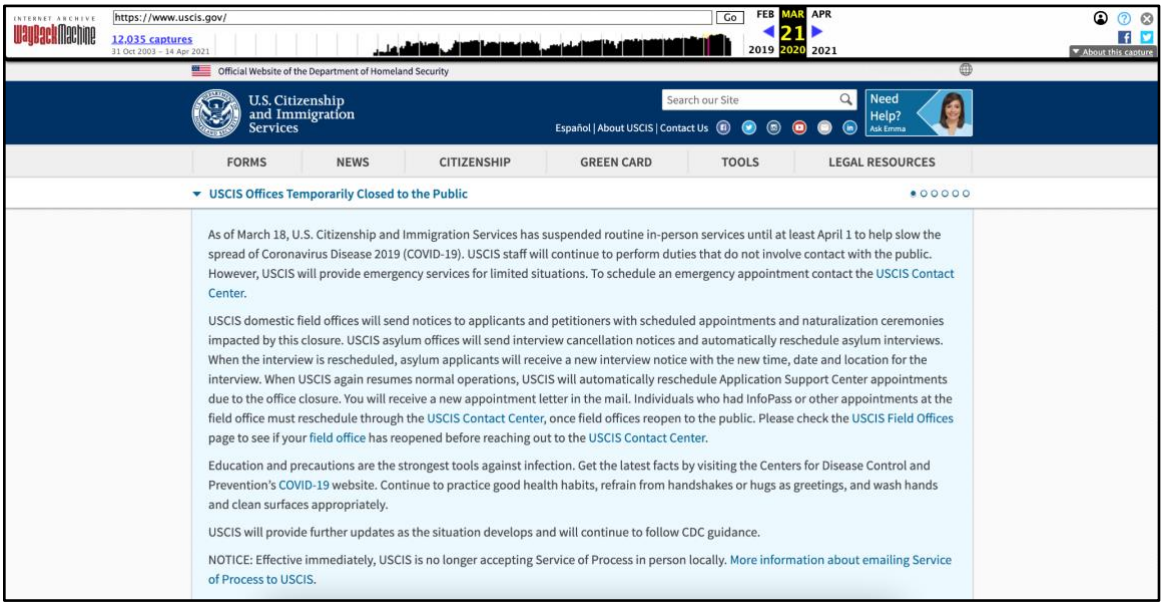
Overall, the first impression visitors get of the LIRS website is that of a neat and well organized homepage with a consistent color scheme (dark blue, light blue, white and orange). The fonts and font sizes LIRS uses vary quite a bit, serving to emphasize some words. At first glance, LIRS is an easily navigable site with clear paths to pages where visitors can learn more about the organization, their work and ways they can contribute. The only potential issue with the site at this stage is the need for visitors to scroll through the homepage to get at different information. For example, visitors need to scroll through the entire homepage to get at the site's privacy policy. This can cause issues for visitors who might want immediate access to information. Finally, I should note that right from the start, LIRS emphasizes the message that they are welcoming and supportive of refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers.

USCIS

I now turn to USCIS with a description of my first impressions of the USCIS website. For USCIS, visitors can immediately see that the site is rather complex (see Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10

Top of USCIS' Homepage



At the very top of the page, a narrow section with a light grey background indicates that the site is "Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security," with the US flag preceding the statement. On the left hand side of that section, a button flashes in different languages, indicating that the site offers resources in multiple languages (26 languages including English). There is a larger section in dark blue right below this narrow light grey section. This section has USCIS' logo on the left hand side. The right hand side has multiple elements. The search bar features prominently in that area of the site. A large button representing the help tool 'Emma' also features prominently in that area. Three

buttons lead visitors to the Spanish version of the USCIS site, a page providing information about USCIS, and a page with USCIS' contact information respectively. Finally, multiple icons lead visitors to USCIS' social media, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, and LinkedIn. Finally, an icon leading visitors to a page where they can sign up for email updates from USCIS is buried among the social media icons.

The next section is also light grey and provides a menu. This menu includes the following items: forms, news, citizenship, green card, tools, and legal resources. Hovering over each item allows visitors to view a drop down menu for each item on the main menu. Under 'forms', we can see the following items: N-400 (apply for citizenship), I-485 (apply for a green card), I-230 (petition for relative), I-864 (affidavit of support), I-90 (renew/replace green card), I-9 (employment eligibility verification), I-765 (apply for employment authorization), all USCIS forms, filing fees, file online-create an account or sign in, order forms by mail, "DS" visa and passport forms (Department of State), I-94 (arrival/departure forms), citizenship and naturalization based forms, green card based forms, family based forms, employment based forms, humanitarian benefits based forms, and adoptions based forms. Under 'news,' we can see the following items: all news, alerts, news releases, and media contacts. Under 'citizenship,' we can see the following items: apply for citizenship, citizenship through naturalization, citizenship for spouses of U.S. citizens, citizenship through parents, exceptions and accommodations, path to U.S. citizenship, passports (Department of State), citizenship for military personnel and family members, citizenship resource center, a guide to naturalization, naturalization test, and naturalization ceremonies. Under 'green card,' we can see the following items: green card eligibility, green card processes and procedures, replace your

green card, while your green card is pending, green card based forms, and travel outside the U.S. Under 'tools,' we can see the following items: self service tools (which leads to myUSCIS, explore my options, file online, change my address, case status online, and ask about my case), locators (which leads to find a doctor, office locator, forms and fees, and class locator), online resources (which leads to case processing times, E-Verify [ensure employment eligibility of your workforce], avoid scams, self check [verify your eligibility to work in the U.S.], and SAVE [check a benefit applicant's immigration status]), research tools (which leads to electronic reading room, immigration and citizenship date, research my family's immigration history, and multilingual resource center). Under 'legal resources,' we can see the following items: USCIS federal register announcements, non-precedent decisions, buy American and hire American, USCIS privacy, policy memoranda, legal settlement notices, USCIS policy manual, immigration and nationality act, small business regulatory enforcement fairness act.

The next two sections of the USCIS homepage are linked. The top section features the title for the section below. There are six iterations of these sections. The first iteration is an announcement that USCIS offices are temporarily closed to the public. The light blue box below this title contains more detailed information about these closures due to COVID-19 and links to other government sites (such as the CDC and DHS) for more information. The second iteration is an announcement that USCIS has updated their policy manual for submission of benefit requests to USCIS. The light blue box below this title contains some more information along with a link to the manual. The third iteration is an announcement that USCIS has updated their policy guidance on the effect of breaks in the continuity of residence on eligibility for naturalization. The light blue box below

this title contains some more information along with a link to the manual and the page of the alert about this topic. The fourth iteration is a public charge notice for Illinois. The light blue box below this title contains detailed information about the public charge rule. The fifth iteration is an announcement that USCIS has updated their policy manual for implementation of the Final Rule (which is linked to the public charge rule). The light blue box below this title provides some additional information along with links to the manual and the pages of these alerts about these changes. The sixth iteration is an announcement about the Buy American and Hire American executive order President Trump had signed. The light blue box below this title provides more detailed information on the executive order. It also contains a graphic featuring a version of the American flag. In each iteration, the light blue box contains an option to close the box.

Scrolling further down the homepage, site visitors see a red box with white writing (see Figure 5.11).

Figure 5.11

Prominent Red Box Announcing Office Closures Due to COVID-19 on USCIS' Homepage

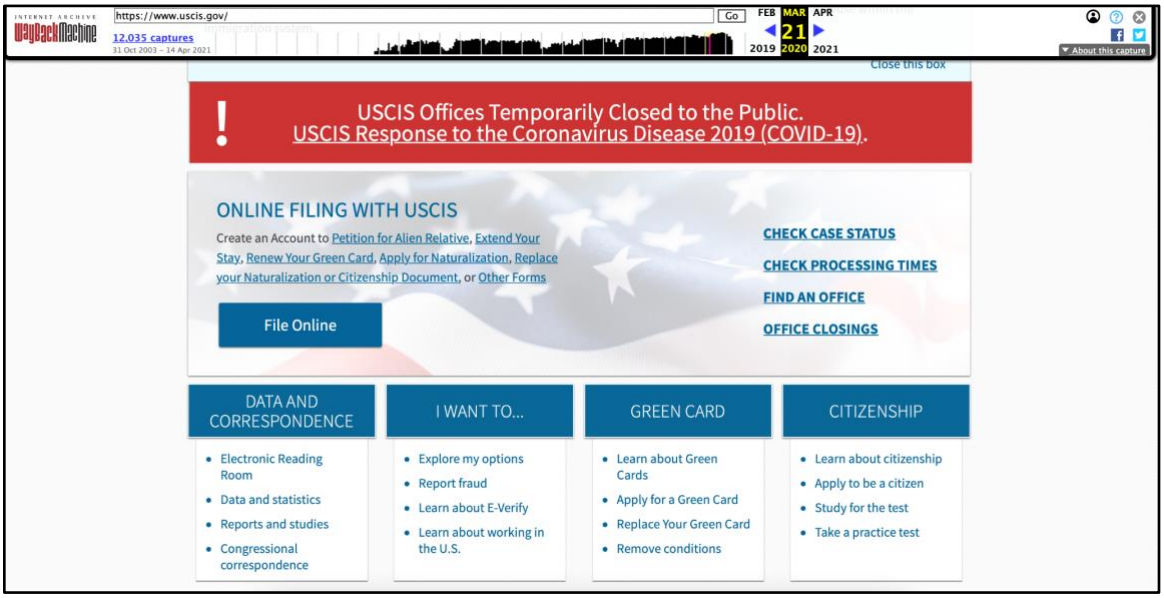
An exclamation mark is on the left hand side of the box. The announcement is brief and to the point. It also features a link leading visitors to a page where USCIS describes its responses to the pandemic and how the pandemic is impacting specific services. The bright red color of this box immediately draws the attention of site visitors because it stands out amid the blue, white and black color scheme of the rest of the homepage. Since

the message in the box is essential with the rise of the impact of the pandemic in mid March 2020, this box is highly successful in providing critical information for site visitors.

The box immediately below the red box has the American flag as background.

Figure 5.12

Boxes Providing Direct Links to Key Information Midway on USCIS' Homepage

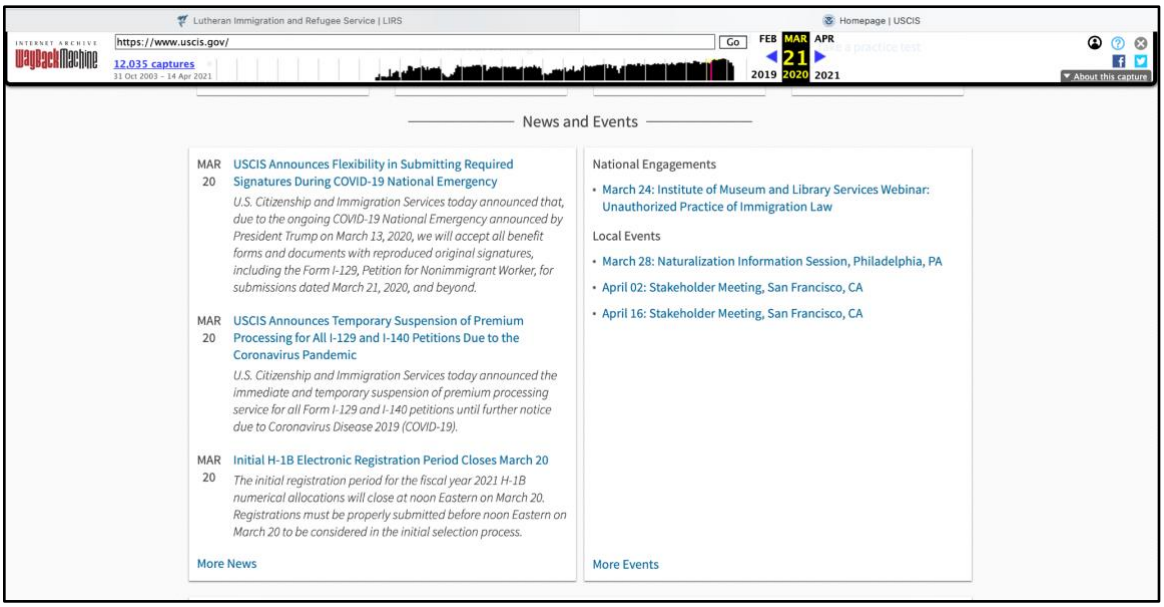


This box contains key information that site visitors are likely to be looking for. Right below this box, another box is divided into four columns. Each column addresses a key area of information, namely data and correspondence, I want to, green card, and citizenship. Each column has links to other pages. These pages are likely ones that have high traffic on the USCIS website. These two boxes provide another way for visitors to access site information than the menu at the top of the homepage. The homepage thus provides multiple ways for visitors to access the information they are searching for.

Scrolling further down leads visitors to a section about news and events (see Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13

News and Events Section on the USCIS' Homepage

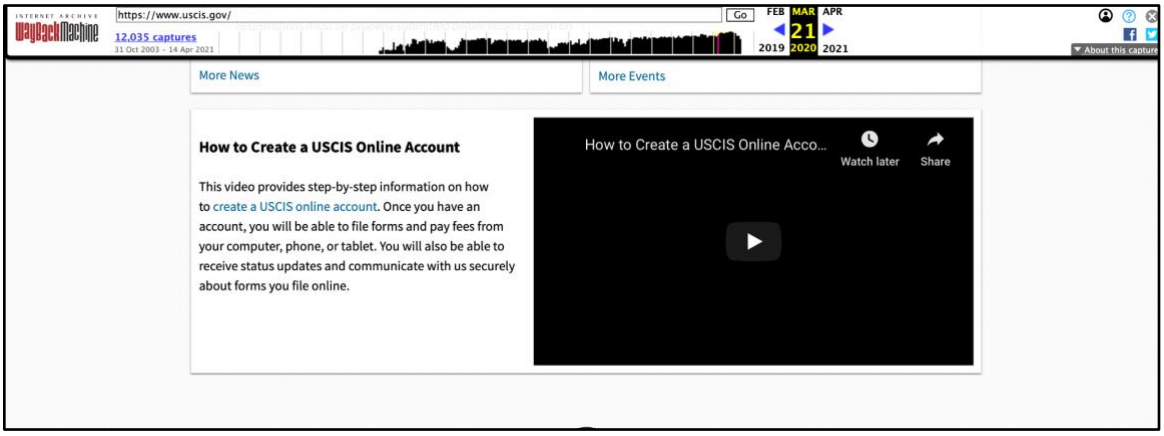


This section is divided into two columns. Each column has a white background with blue and black writing. The left hand column contains key pieces of news with a title and a brief description of the news information. Each title also contains a hyperlink to a page with more detailed information. The right hand column contains key pieces of information about events. It is divided into 'national engagements' and 'local events.' Under each type of content, there are a few hyperlinks leading to pages with more information. Both columns provide the option for visitors to view pages with more information with 'more news' or 'more events' buttons.

The next section is simply a video hosted on YouTube about how users can create an online USCIS account (see Figure 5.14).

Figure 5.14

Creating an Online USCIS Account Section on the USCIS' Homepage

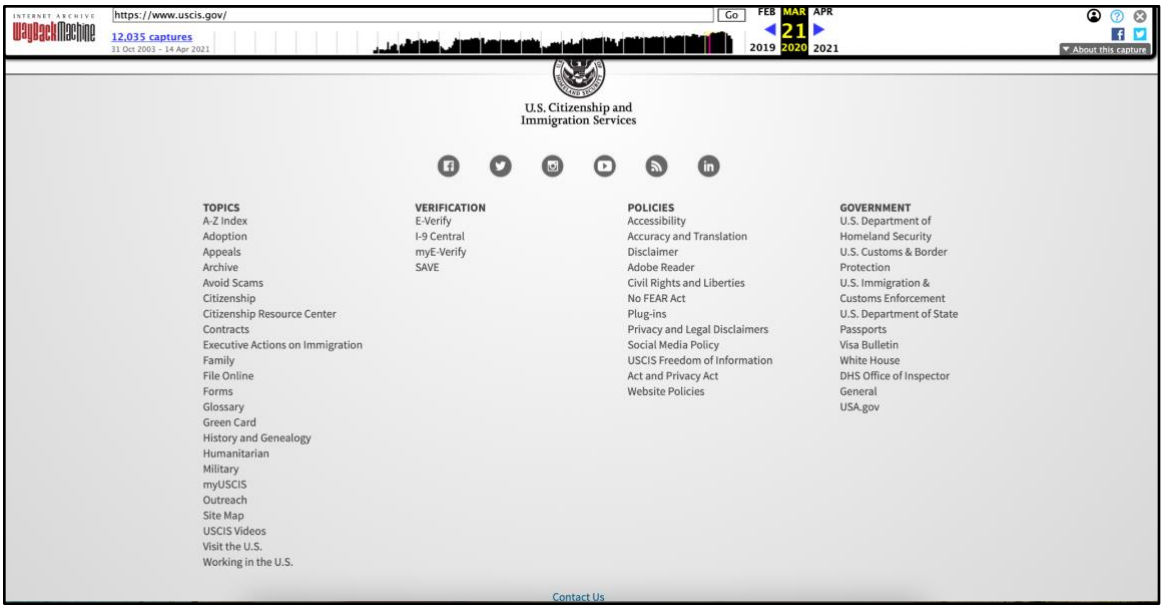


The text on the left hand side of the video contains a link, taking users directly to the page where they can create their online account. Just as with the previous sections, this section also has a white background with black and blue text.

The last part of the homepage is as complex as the top of the homepage (see Figure 5.15).

Figure 5.15

Bottom Part of the USCIS' Homepage



This section has a grey background with black writing. The USCIS logo is at the top center of this section. Directly below it, there are multiple social media icons, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, RSS feed, and LinkedIn. The space below the list of icons is divided into four columns with the following titles: topics, verification, policies, and government. Below each title, several items with corresponding hyperlinks are listed. This section provides yet another way for site visitors to access key information on the USCIS website. The policies column is particularly interesting because it provides visitors with information about their use of the USCIS website, with such links as website policies, and privacy and legal disclaimers. Finally, this section ends with a link labeled ‘contact us,’ which leads visitors to a page where they can find multiple ways to contact the organization.

Overall, the USCIS homepage is rather complex and contains a lot more information than the LIRS homepage. This is not surprising given the key role USCIS plays in processing immigration documents. The homepage has a consistent color scheme

or blue, white and back, with minor elements in red. USCIS uses a few different fonts and font sizes. USCIS uses space in a rather intriguing way. The homepage is divided into three columns, with a grey vertical strip on either side of the larger center column. These grey strips (i.e. side margins) give the impression that the webpage is more cluttered than it really is. I would argue that there is a misuse of empty space with these grey strips. The homepage is often redundant and therefore, highly effective in providing multiple pathways for visitors to reach key information. Overall, while being cluttered, the homepage features key information that visitors are likely to be searching for.

Phase 2

In phase 2, I perform a content audit of LIRS' and USCIS' websites. I look at the top two layers of each website. I decided to opt to examine two layers because of the complexity of the USCIS site, which yielded 289 entries for the audit. LIRS had 65 entries for the audit. I identify the Page ID, Page Name, Page Type, Description, Site Analyzer, and URL for LIRS' and USCIS' websites. Please see Appendix A for the results of the audit.

Following the content audit in phase 2, I turn to phase 3 in the next section.

Phase 3

In phase 3, I rely on the data from the content audit in phase 2 for coding. I run the page names from each organization through the 'Word List' function in Antconc, sorting by frequency. I have not eliminated prepositions, personal pronouns and associated possessive adjectives because they feature in the titles/headers on the websites rather than the body of text. Since titles typically are pithy, the presence of prepositions is

significant. Readers also tend to pay greater attention to titles since they stand out from the rest of the text on a page. Therefore, any word used in titles has particular importance.

First Cycle of Coding for LIRS

Figure 5.16 shows the highest-ranking words occurring for LIRS.

Figure 5.16

Word List for LIRS - Rated by Frequency From Antconc

Word Types: 123 **Word Tokens:** 176 **Search Hits:** 0

Rank	Freq	Word	Lemma Word Form(s)
1	7	our	
2	5	give	
3	5	the	
4	4	address	
5	4	email	
6	4	refugee	
7	4	sign	
8	4	up	
9	2	a	
10	2	about	
11	2	afraid	
12	2	be	
13	2	customer	
14	2	donate	
15	2	download	
16	2	faith	
17	2	family	
18	2	gift	
19	2	host	
20	2	loans	
21	2	move	
22	2	not	
23	2	of	
24	2	on	
25	2	partners	

As Figure 5.16 shows, ‘our’ is the top ranked word, with a frequency of 7. With ‘our,’ LIRS focuses on three areas: their organizational structure/identity (‘our leadership’), their collaborations (‘our partners,’ and ‘our network and partners’), and

their work ('about our work,' 'areas of our work,' 'check out our Breaking Bread, Building Bridges toolkit,' and 'host a Be Not Afraid training session using our resources'). LIRS' use of 'our' here engages with site visitors, encouraging them to participate in LIRS' activities, such as Breaking Bread, Building Bridges, and Be Not Afraid training sessions. Their use of 'our' also serves to emphasize their partnerships, highlighting that LIRS works with others while fulfilling their mission.

The next top-ranked word is 'give.' Given that LIRS partly relies on donations for their work, this focus on giving is not surprising. LIRS mentions the following on their "Financial Information" page:

> Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service is a careful steward of the private donations and public funds that allow us to carry out our work of welcome. You can be confident that your gifts to LIRS are put to good use. Your gifts become the quality services that allow newcomers to re-establish their lives in American communities and the vigorous advocacy that motivates our nation's lawmakers to enact welcoming policies.

LIRS uses 'give' to offer multiple options for donors to give. For example, they use 'give' in the following ways: 'how to give,' 'give,' 'give monthly,' 'give once,' and 'other ways to give.' By offering different ways for donors to give, LIRS makes it easier for donors to contribute in the way that makes the most sense to them. On their "Ways to Give" page, they write:

> Your contribution, however small, makes a big difference in the lives of the most vulnerable. It provides basic necessities and vital integration services like English classes, cultural orientation, medical care and more. It provides safe and loving

care for unaccompanied migrant children. And it allows LIRS to advocate for common-sense, compassionate public policy at a time of unprecedented need.

This quote highlights the fact that any contribution is welcome and appreciated. LIRS is also making it easier for site visitors to engage with them at the level visitors wish while making it easier for visitors to build a longer-term relationship with them (through the 'give monthly' option). I should make a quick note here that while Antconc catalogued 'give' as a top occurring word, LIRS also uses other similar terms such as 'donate.'

The group of words 'email,' 'address,' 'sign,' and 'up' feature in top ranked words. I group them together since they exclusively occur together on the website. LIRS repeatedly asks site visitors to sign up for updates/a newsletter from LIRS. Usually, this request is featured at the bottom of the page with a blue box (see Figure 5.8 above in phase 1 for an example). This is another example of LIRS engaging with site visitors, attempting to build a longer-term relationship with them through long term contact.

The word 'refugee' occurs four times in the page names. LIRS uses the word refugee in the following ways: 'A refugee family's journey,' 'refugee resettlement,' 'participate in Refugee Sunday,' and 'Refugee Sunday.' The first title represents a short video of a family's journey. The video is located on the page seeking donations. This video is a great way to humanize refugees and establish a sense of shared humanity between refugees and site visitors. I should note that this page also contains multiple photos of refugees and immigrants, which together with the video mentioned above, further contribute to humanizing migrants. 'Refugee resettlement' represents part of the work that LIRS does. The last two phrases involving refugees offer a way for site visitors

to engage with refugees. Just as with giving, LIRS opens up the option of hosting Refugee Sunday to everyone as they write on their "Refugee Sunday" page:

> Whether your congregation is new to assisting refugees, has a history of newcomer ministry, or you are newcomers yourselves, you can observe Refugee Sunday and create a meaningful experience with LIRS's Refugee Sunday worship ideas and Stand for Welcome newsletter.

This quote is particularly interesting because it gives insight into the audience that LIRS is targeting: both Americans and newcomers (migrants) who want to engage with migrants. LIRS is also reaching out to those who are used to working with migrants as well as those who are new to working with migrants. By providing resources and clear guidance (which LIRS shares later on on the "Refugee Sunday" page), LIRS ensures that site visitors can readily engage in this activity without needing to seek help from other places/websites. However, the ways LIRS uses 'refugee' in its page names show that its website is less directed towards refugees themselves and more directed toward individuals (whether former refugees or others) who can partner with LIRS (through volunteering, donations and so on) or who are trying to become better informed about migration. That is, the site does not directly offer migration advice or other resources migrants might use during the migration process.

The rest of the top occurring words, from 'a' through to 'partners' have only a rather small frequency of two as shown in Figure 5.16 above. Most of the words occur around mentions of the work that LIRS does. In particular, they center around different activities that LIRS organizes. For example, there are several mentions of 'Be Not Afraid' (sometimes also written as 'No Temas') and 'Faith on the Move Bible Studies'

around the top occurring words. The Be Not Afraid program is a project that LIRS has launched as a response to the fear that immigrants face in their lives. LIRS notes that

> Pastors are facing a decline in membership and participation as immigrant members are deported or fear being detained. Immigrant families are fractured by a broken system that often denies due process, separates parents and children, and creates a culture of fear that interrupts daily life. Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service has heard from
>
> denominational bodies and individual congregations who want to do something to turn back the fear and inspire people with strength and hope." "Be Not Afraid"

The Be Not Afraid project provides materials for the following groups: immigrants and their families (presentation and materials), congregations and volunteers (training and resources), network congregations and partners (for raids response), and advocates (resources for advocating for better policies). This project, then, targets multiple audiences with a range of resources. The second program most often seen alongside the top occurring words is Faith on the Move Bible Studies. This program, written by Rev. Dr. David Vásquez-Levy, focuses on Biblical narratives as they relate to migration issues. Participants engage in reading out portions of the Bible related to migration aloud, followed by a discussion. Given the prevalence of the mentions of the Be Not Afraid and Faith on the Move Bible Studies projects in page names, these projects appear to be key projects for LIRS. The frequent presence of these terms in page names is likely to bring site visitors to read more about these projects and therefore become more likely to engage with these projects.

Alongside these two projects, certain words that prompt action from site visitors also occur with the top occurring words. For example, the words ‘donate,’ ‘download,’ and ‘host’ frequently appear in the concordances. These verbs ensure that site visitors are not passive viewers of the web content but can engage with the content through various means. That is, the website is asking visitors to perform certain actions, ranging from something as simple as downloading content to investing time or money. These verbs’ presence in page names suggests that such action is important to the LIRS website. Since LIRS has already indicated their emphasis on collaboration (see discussion above with the top occurring word ‘our’), these requests for action continue in the trend of collaboration by inviting site visitors to participate.

Overall, this section examines the concordances for the top occurring words in the page names for the top two layers of LIRS’ website. This cycle of coding indicates that LIRS places strong emphasis on action from site visitors, in the form of donating, signing up for updates/a newsletter, downloading content or participating in LIRS’ projects/activities. However, these forms of engagement are rather one-sided; that is, there is no dialogue (or space for dialogue) occurring on the website. This is a stark contrast to many sites who offer ways of engagement, such as comment sections. The frequent mentions of projects/activities indicate that these conversations likely happen in physical spaces (for example, at a Refugee Sunday event with a congregation) even if they do not occur on LIRS website. Given the importance of digital spaces, this lack of opportunities for conversation is a missed opportunity for LIRS to engage with online audiences.

This cycle of coding has also revealed the audiences that LIRS is targeting. These can be grouped into three categories: volunteers/donors, new volunteers/donors, and migrants. With the first two groups, LIRS aims at providing resources and information to help volunteers and donors contribute to LIRS' mission with migration. There is limited information targeted towards migrants on the site. Given the description of their work and the projects they've developed, LIRS works closely with migrants. However, this work appears to happen in physical spaces. Again, there is missed opportunity here for LIRS to engage digitally with migrants on the website itself.

In the next subsection, I similarly examine the concordances for the top occurring words in the page names for USCIS' website.

First Cycle of Coding for USCIS

Figure 5.17 shows the highest-ranking words occurring for USCIS.

Figure 5.17

Word List for USCIS - Rated by Frequency From Antconc

Word Types: 410		Word Tokens: 1073	Search Hits: 0
Rank	Freq	Word	Lemma Word Form(s)
1	45	and	
2	28	uscis	
3	25	citizenship	
4	24	forms	
5	24	of	
6	21	for	
7	19	us	
8	18	a	
9	18	the	
10	15	green	
11	14	card	
12	14	naturalization	
13	14	to	
14	13	i	
15	13	information	
16	11	online	
17	10	based	
18	10	immigration	
19	9	about	
20	8	apply	
21	8	your	
22	7	act	
23	7	center	
24	7	coronavirus	
25	7	department	

The top occurring word for USCIS is ‘and, ’ with a frequency of 45. This word does not shed much light on the page names of the website since it covers various situations. For example, sometimes it references the name of an Act, policy or executive order, such as ‘Freedom of Information and Privacy Act (FOIA)’ or ‘Buy American and Hire American’. Sometimes it references the name of a program, such as ‘Citizenship and Assimilation Grant Program.’ Sometimes, the word ‘and’ references commonly paired

items, such as ‘Immigration and Citizenship data’ or ‘New employee information and forms’ or ‘Civil rights and liberties.’ Therefore, there is a wide range in the concordances around the word ‘and.’

Figure 5.17 shows several words that revolve around USCIS as an organization. These include the second top occurring word ‘USCIS,’ along with ‘center,’ ‘about,’ and ‘online.’ This grouping refers to the organizations’ various areas of service. For example, three centers within USCIS are repeatedly mentioned: ‘USCIS Contact Center,’ ‘Citizenship Resource Center,’ and ‘Multilingual Resource Center.’ Sometimes the website mentions one center within a phrase, such as ‘Learn about the USCIS Contact Center.’ There are several references to USCIS documents, such as the ‘USCIS Policy Manual,’ ‘All USCIS Forms,’ ‘The USCIS Naturalization Interview and Test Video,’ ‘USCIS Federal Register announcements,’ and ‘USCIS Videos.’ While most of these documents are text-based, USCIS also offers some video resources. There are several references to actions site visitors can take online on the website, such as ‘How to Create a USCIS Online Account,’ ‘Online Filing with USCIS Petition for Alien Relative,’ ‘Find a USCIS Office,’ and ‘Report USCIS Misconduct.’ The USCIS website also includes several announcements, such as ‘USCIS announces temporary suspension of premium processing for all I-129 and I-140 petitions due to the coronavirus pandemic,’ ‘USCIS announces flexibility in submitting required signatures during COVID-19 national emergency,’ and ‘USCIS offices temporarily closed to the public.’ All these announcements relate to changes USCIS has been implementing due to the COVID-19 pandemic. There are a few other mentions of the pandemic, such as ‘USCIS.gov/coronavirus: USCIS information,’ and ‘USCIS Response to the Coronavirus

Disease 2019 (COVID-19).' Therefore, the website references itself within its page names through its centers, documents, actions visitors can take online, and announcements related to its services during the pandemic.

Another grouping of words include 'citizenship,' 'naturalization,' and 'apply.' This grouping occurs in relation to documents, such as 'Citizenship and Naturalization-based Forms,' 'Apply for Naturalization,' and 'Replace Your Naturalization or Citizenship Document.' It also serves alongside information and resources USCIS is sharing, such as 'Citizenship Resource Center,' 'Learn about Citizenship,' 'Naturalization Information Sessions,' 'A guide to Naturalization,' and 'Citizenship through Naturalization.' USCIS directly addresses several audiences with their resource sharing. Thus, the website includes titles such as 'Citizenship for Military Personnel and Family Members,' and 'Citizenship for Spouses of US Citizens.' Finally, 'citizenship' is related to actions that site visitors can take, such as 'Apply for Citizenship,' and ' Replace your Naturalization or Citizenship Document.' These titles indicate that the targeted audiences include migrants seeking citizenship and new Americans. The concordances around the grouping of 'citizenship,' 'naturalization,' and 'about,' thus shows that USCIS targets several audiences, including migrants seeking citizenship, Americans, new Americans, and military personnel and their families with key documents and resources.

Another grouping includes the following 'forms,' 'Green,' 'card,' 'based,' and 'I.' This grouping revolves mostly around forms, with an emphasis on Green card-based forms and mentions on some specific forms, such as 'I-9, Employment Eligibility Verification.' This grouping includes mentions of two types of information: types of

forms, and key changes about forms. The different types of forms include the following: 'Green Card-Based Forms,' 'Other Forms,' 'All USCIS Forms,' 'Employment-Based Forms,' 'Citizenship and Naturalization-Based Forms,' 'Most Popular Forms,' and 'Adoptions Based Forms.' Finally some forms are named in the titles, such as 'Forms N-400, Application for Naturalization,' 'I-90, Renew/Replace Green card,' 'I-130 Petition for Relative,' and 'Forms N-600 Application for Certificate of Citizenship.' This shows the emphasis that USCIS places on these forms, especially as they are highlighted compared to other forms. Alongside the forms themselves, USCIS also includes pages labeled 'Forms Information,' 'Forms Updates,' and 'USCIS announces temporary suspension of premium processing for all I-129 and I-140 petitions due to the coronavirus pandemic.' These pages inform site visitors about key changes about forms, especially as they relate to changes due to the pandemic. Given USCIS' role in processing migration documents, it is not surprising that the website places such a strong focus on forms.

Another grouping of words include the following: 'of,' 'US,' 'the,' and 'Department.' This grouping points to the connections USCIS shares with other government agencies and departments. The website references the 'Department of State,' 'Department of Homeland Security,' 'Office of Inspector General,' 'US Customs & Border Protection,' and 'US Immigration and Customs Enforcement' at various times. This grouping also points to actions visitors can take in relation to the US, including 'Travel Outside the US,' 'Visit the US,' 'Learn about Working in the US,' and 'Settling in the US.' These pages tend to be about sharing information and resources. Finally, this grouping identifies several key audiences for USCIS. These include US citizens, US employers or immigrants seeking US citizenship with pages such as 'E-Verify: Ensure

employment eligibility of your workforce,' 'Citizenship for spouses of US citizens' 'Proof of US citizenship and identification when applying for a job,' and 'Becoming a US Citizen: An overview of the Naturalization Process.'

The concordances around the top occurring word 'for' is of particular interest because they point to the audiences USCIS is targeting. Several groups are directly mentioned, including the following: 'Resources for Battered Spouses, Children and Parents,' 'Resources for Congress,' 'Citizenship for Military Personnel and Family Members,' and 'Citizenship for Spouses of US Citizens.' We can infer other audiences through the actions USCIS prompts visitors to take. For example, they write 'Apply for a Green Card,''Apply for Citizenship,' 'Apply for Employment Authorization,' 'Apply for Naturalization,' and 'Study for the Test [for Citizenship].' These actions apply to various immigrants (those seeking to work and those seeking citizenship or naturalization). Therefore, overall, the concordances around 'for' indicate that USCIS targets various audiences, including battered spouses, children and parents, Congress, military personnel and their family members, the spouses of US citizens, immigrants seeking work and immigrants seeking citizenship or naturalization.

The concordances around the word 'immigration' indicate that USCIS uses the word mostly around announcements or policies. An example of announcements is 'March 24: Institute of Museum and Library Services Webinar: Unauthorized Practice of Immigration Law.' Examples of policies include 'Executive Actions on Immigration,' and 'Immigration and Nationality Act.' There are a few mentions of data related to immigration, such as 'Immigration and Citizenship Data,' 'Research my Family's Immigration History,' and 'SAVE: Check a Benefit Applicant's Immigration Status.'

Given USCIS' central mission of working in immigration, this relatively low frequency of the word 'immigration' (which has a frequency of 10) might seem surprising. However, USCIS uses more specialized terminology throughout. For example, page names include specific forms and documents, or specific immigration actions individuals can take (for example, creating an online USCIS account or checking the status of their case). Given their more-precise language, the USCIS website seems targeted to an audience who is already familiar with immigration and key immigration terms.

One top occurring word, 'your,' is of particular importance despite its relatively low frequency (it has a frequency of 8). This word indicates that USCIS is addressing their audiences directly. For example, they write 'Self-check: Verify Your Eligibility to Work in the US,' 'Renew Your Green Card,' 'Extend Your Stay,' and 'E-Verify: Ensure employment eligibility of your workforce.' All these page names indicate direct actions that site visitors can take. The use of 'your' reflects a certain personal touch to those actions. For instance, the website's use of the words 'your workforce' makes verifying employment eligibility the employer's responsibility. USCIS rarely uses this wording though, as shown above with the ways they engage visitors to take action without using possessive adjectives.

Finally, the 'coronavirus' features among the top occurring words. Some of the concordances revolve around announcements that USCIS made due to the pandemic. For example, they write 'USCIS announces temporary suspension of premium processing for all I-129 and I-140 petitions due to the coronavirus pandemic.' The USCIS website also references several government websites in relation to the pandemic. For example, they reference the following: 'USCIS.gov/coronavirus: USCIS information,'

‘CDC.gov/coronavirus: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention information,’ ‘coronavirus.gov: primary federal site for general information,’ ‘DHS.gov/coronavirus: Department of Homeland Security information,’ and ‘USA.gov/coronavirus: What the U.S. government is doing.’ This focus on the coronavirus is expected given the effect of the pandemic on the US (and the world) as well as on USCIS’ operations and services.

Overall, this section examines the concordances for the top occurring words in the page names for the top two layers of USCIS’ website. This cycle of coding indicates that USCIS places a strong emphasis on immigration actions and their attending documents. These actions range from asking visitors to learn more about certain forms to asking visitors to check their case status. Therefore, there is a double intent of sharing information and publishing forms that site visitors need to submit to USCIS for their immigration status. Given the sheer number of pages containing various forms and resources, the USCIS website can be overwhelming. The website authors try to mitigate some of the confusion that can occur through identifying what a form does. For example, writing ‘I-485, Apply for a Green card’ rather than just ‘I-485.’ However, the website is inconsistent with such labeling. I should add a quick note here about ‘AskEmma,’ which is USCIS’ help tool. While AskEmma can help with navigating the complexity of the site, it has limited ability to help with complex questions. Therefore, the amount of information present on the website and various pathways to reach that information can be confusing to site visitors.

The concordances in this section also reveal that USCIS targets multiple audiences, including various American groups and migrant groups. For example, these groups include Congress, military personnel and their family members, the spouses of US

citizens, immigrants seeking work, immigrants seeking citizenship or naturalization, employers verifying their workers' eligibility to work, and battered spouses, children and parents. The website sometimes engages with site visitors through the use of 'your' but does so inconsistently. Finally, the concordances in this section reveal that the pandemic has impacted USCIS and other federal agencies in various ways. The website has tried to keep their audiences updated about these changes, including as they relate to immigration documents.

Similar to LIRS' website, the USCIS website offers few opportunities for interaction. Similar to many government websites, the USCIS website does not offer options to leave comments (such as in comment sections) unless site visitors leave formal comments (e.g. by contacting them). The website thus seems more like a repository of immigration information, documents and forms.

In the next subsection, I detail the results of the second cycle of coding (still part of phase three in Pauwels' framework).

Second Cycle of Coding LIRS

In this subsection, I discuss the results of the second cycle of coding for LIRS' website. To recap, in the last subsection, I explored the top occurring words for LIRS' website page names and the concordances surrounding these top occurring words. Following this, I wrote analytical memos from these words and concordances. This cycle gives me the broader categories defining the website.

One key theme is apparent for LIRS' website. The theme is:

- Site visitor action/ engagement

In terms of site visitor action/ engagement, the website serves as space to recruit site visitors to engage with the organization. Some of the actions site visitors can take right on the website. These include downloading resources (such as Be Not Afraid resources), donating and subscribing for their newsletter. Both donating (especially if visitors select the option of monthly donations) and subscribing aim at building a longer-term relationship with site visitors. The site also encourages site visitors to take several actions offline (in physical spaces). For example, participating in the various activities LIRS describes (e.g. Refugee Sunday, and 'Faith on the Move Bible Studies') requires visitors to leave the website and join LIRS in physical locations.

Despite their focus on visitor action, LIRS does not offer many options for site visitors to communicate with them. That is, the site does not provide online spaces for visitors to engage LIRS in conversations, through for example comment sections.

In short, LIRS' website serves as a space for site visitors to take action online (in limited ways) and offline (i.e. in physical spaces).

Second Cycle of Coding USCIS

In this subsection, I discuss the results of the second cycle of coding for USCIS' website. To recap, in the last subsection, I explored the top occurring words for USCIS' website page names and the concordances surrounding these top occurring words. Following this, I wrote analytical memos from these words and concordances. This cycle gives me the broader categories defining the website.

Two themes are apparent for USCIS' website. These are:

- Information sharing and publishing
- Site visitor action/ information processing

In terms of information sharing and publishing, the website dedicates itself to offering and publishing resources and documents (forms, guides, videos) for various audiences (spouses of US citizens, military personnel, migrants seeking naturalization or citizenship, migrants seeking work authorization, Congress, and employers). USCIS publishes all the forms that migrants need for various aspects of their migration experience (e.g. applications for a Green Card). Given USCIS' role in processing migration documents, it is not surprising that the website places such a strong focus on forms and documents. The website also serves as a resource for their varied audiences. For example, they offer a 'Civics Practice Test,' which is helpful to immigrants studying for the naturalization test. Finally, the website serves as a resource for their audiences as they explain changes in immigration procedures, policies and documents.

In terms of site visitor action and information processing, USCIS' website offers their visitors multiple options for action. Visitors can download most of the forms published on the site for submission to USCIS as part of their immigration process (e.g. applying for citizenship). Similarly, visitors can access different tools that provide direct information about their immigration process (e.g. the myUSCIS portal or the 'check case status' option). Finally, site visitors can engage with USCIS offline through their Contact Center (through their phone line) or their USCIS Field Offices.

In short, USCIS has the double function of publishing/sharing immigration documents and processing these documents.

Phases 4

In phase 4, I rely on the information gathered in the two cycles of coding in phase 3. The analysis in phase 3 has shed light on the question of audiences and the actions and expected behaviors of site visitors.

LIRS

As noted in phase 3, the LIRS website targets several audiences. These include the following: volunteers/donors, new volunteers/donors, and migrants. LIRS identifies some of these audiences directly. For example, LIRS explicitly states potential audiences for Refugee Sunday on their "Refugee Sunday" page:

> Whether your congregation is new to assisting refugees, has a history of newcomer ministry, or you are newcomers yourselves, you can observe Refugee Sunday and create a meaningful experience with LIRS's Refugee Sunday worship ideas and Stand for Welcome newsletter.

However, most often the website addresses implied audiences. For example, on its "Ways to Give" page, LIRS does not state any specific audience. It only addresses a non-specific 'you':

"Your donation will help LIRS to provide intensive support to newly arrived refugees, to place vulnerable children in safe, loving homes, and to empower new Americans to become successful, contributing members of their communities." I should note that all these audiences (whether explicit-stated or implied) are audiences who can participate in helping LIRS with its mission. That is, these audiences are provided ways to engage with LIRS' projects through time or financial contributions. Similarly, LIRS offers to provide them with informational updates through a newsletter.

An audience consisting of migrants seeking immigration help is missing in the LIRS website. While the site offers brief descriptions of their work with migrants (e.g. with refugee resettlement), it does not provide much information or resources for migrants who are in the process of migration. The only resource I found was linked to the materials targeted at migrants in the Be Not Afraid project. LIRS' direct work with migrants, then, appears to happen in physical spaces. This is a missed opportunity for LIRS to engage digitally with migrants on the website itself.

Overall, the LIRS website addresses several audiences. LIRS encourages their audiences to contribute to LIRS' mission to help migrants. The website allows audiences to interact with the organization (online and most often, offline) in some ways. However, the options to actively engage with the site online is somewhat limited. LIRS does not target migrants in need of immigration help on its website.

USCIS

As noted in phase 3, the USCIS website also addresses multiple audiences. These include the following: spouses of US citizens, military personnel and their families, migrants seeking naturalization or citizenship, migrants seeking work authorization, Congress, and employers. USCIS also serves other categories of migrants (such as students on F-1 or J-1 visas) but these are not prominent groups from an analysis of the top two layers of the site. Some of these audiences are addressed directly, such as spouses of US citizens (e.g. 'Citizenship for Spouses of US Citizens'). However, most of these audiences are indirectly addressed. For example, the page name 'Apply for Citizenship' can have multiple audiences, such as spouses of US citizens, military personnel seeking

US citizenship or other immigrants seeking US citizenship. Therefore, many, or rather most, of the pages on the website have implied audiences rather than stated ones.

Most of the pages on the USCIS website offer information, resources or forms to these audiences. Audiences will in turn fill out appropriate forms as needed (for example, someone married to a US citizen seeking US citizenship will seek and fill out the necessary forms to start the process of applying for US citizenship). Therefore, most of the information on the website is aimed at helping site visitors accomplish immigration-related actions that directly impact their immigration journeys. I should note here that the site also offers visitors options that would directly impact somebody else's immigration journey. For example, employers can check their employees' employment eligibility. Similarly, site visitors can report immigration fraud or scams.

Finally, the USCIS website offers visitors the opportunity to interact with USCIS in minimal ways. For example, the site offers the AskEmma tool, which allows visitors to ask Emma a question, whereby the tool will pull relevant pages. However, this tool is limited in terms of the complexity level it can handle. Therefore, a site visitor seeking answers to a complicated immigration question will likely find AskEmma unhelpful. The website also offers visitors the option to interact in more formal ways, by for example, reporting a misconduct. Finally, the site offers visitors the option to engage offline, through its call line or USCIS Field Offices.

Overall, the USCIS website addresses a wide range of audiences. USCIS offers its audiences a broad range of resources and tools. Finally, it allows its audiences to interact with the organization (both online and offline) in some ways. However, the options to actively engage with the site online is somewhat limited.

Phase 5

I rely both on the analysis done in phase 3 and the content audit done in phase 2 of Pauwels' framework to address phase 5. The analysis in phase 3 and the content audit has shed light on the ways the websites organize information.

LIRS

LIRS has a relatively simple website. Many of the key pages can be accessed directly from the homepage through the top menu (see Figure 5.1 above). The website contains few control mechanisms, such as pages requiring visitors to sign in or submit their email addresses to access content. The only page requiring sign in is the "Loans Customer Portal." This page, which deals with the loan program organized by the International Organization for Migration to cover refugees' travel expenses, contains sensitive information. Therefore, the sign in control mechanism aims at protecting site visitors. The pages where visitors can donate money also contain security measures to protect visitors' sensitive financial information. I should note that the site encourages visitors to sign up for a newsletter (this sign up button features on most pages). However, this sign up feature does not interfere with visitors' ability to view information, i.e. visitors can choose to not sign up without impacting their experience of the website. Therefore, the LIRS site has few control mechanisms limiting how visitors experience the site.

The website has a neat and consistent design. The pages on the website typically have a small amount of written text surrounded by pictures. Figure 5.18 shows a snapshot of the middle of the "Our Work" page.

Figure 5.18

Snapshot of LIRS' "Our Work" Page

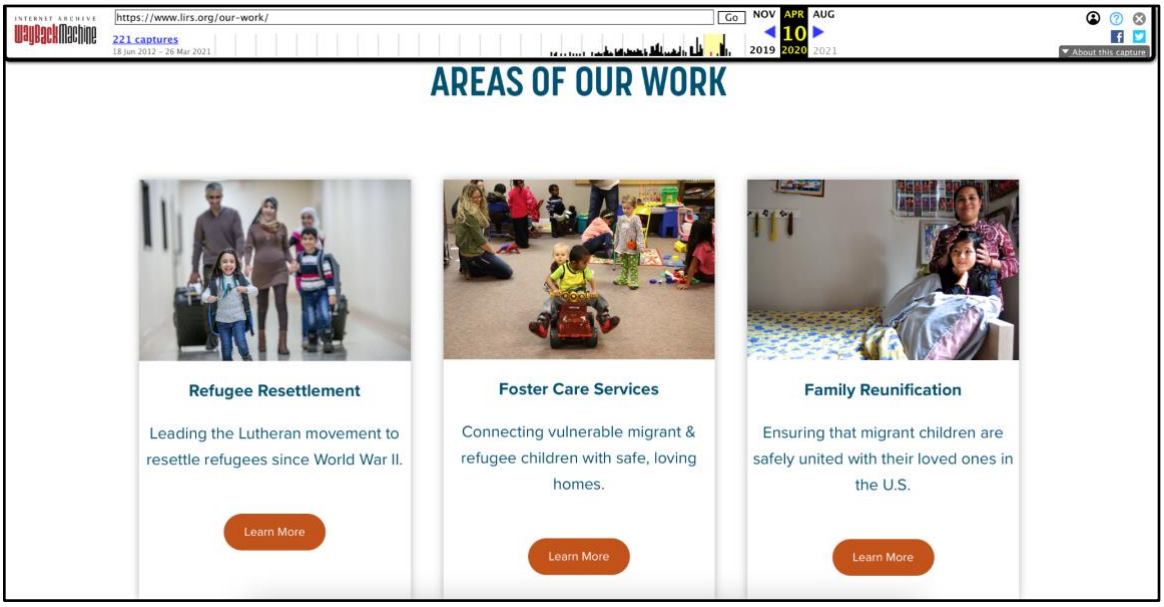


Figure 5.18 is an example of how LIRS pairs images with text to create a neat and visually-appealing design. At the same time, the images serve to humanize migrants and help site visitors see that LIRS is working with real people. Therefore, they help site visitors see that any contribution they make (whether financial or otherwise) has a real impact on actual people. LIRS' design also prevents visitors from being overwhelmed with information. For example, the page "Our Work" (Figure 5.18) offers an overview of the work LIRS does. If visitors want more information, they can then click on the appropriate link. The use of white space and contrasting colors helps site visitors easily skim through the page (i.e. they can easily 'read' the page at a glance). I should note that LIRS uses the same color scheme of dark blue, light blue, white and orange throughout the website. Similarly, the pages are organized in similar ways, with a top menu and horizontal panels (through which visitors scroll). Both the consistent color scheme and organization throughout the website make for an easy viewing.

Finally, the various pages on the LIRS website have consistent URLs. None of the URLs indicate the pathways used but they all include the page name. This makes the URLs SEO friendly. While it might be helpful for the URLs to indicate the pathways for each page (e.g. the "Foster Care" page can be accessed through the "Our Work" page), this is not a major issue given the simplicity of the website.

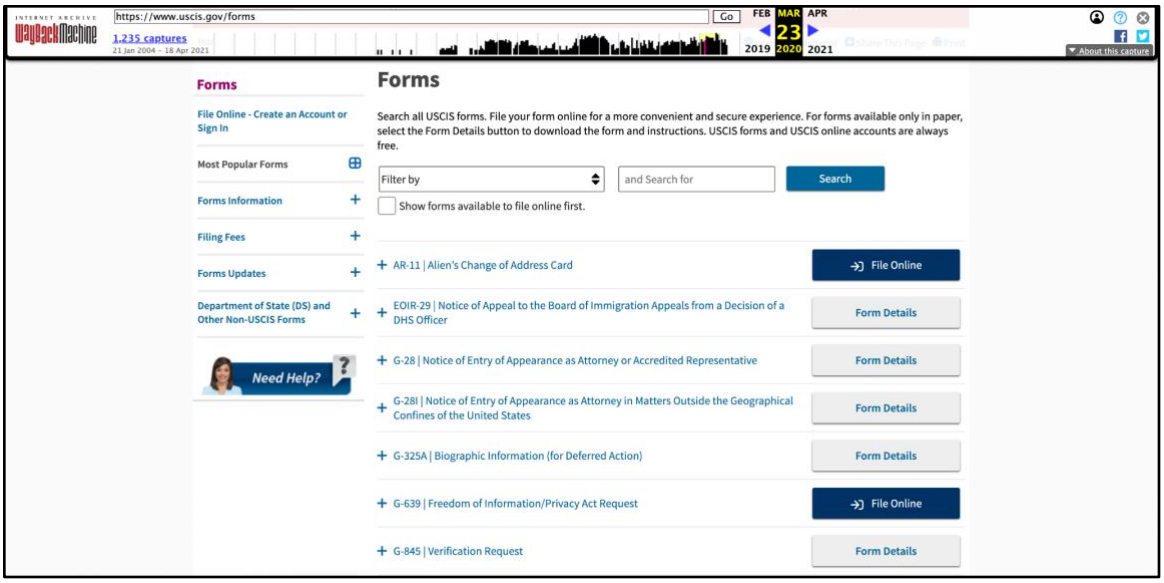
Overall, the LIRS website has a uniform design, positioning sections on different pages in similar ways. It offers a beautiful visual balance, with lots of images. Its consistent color scheme and positioning make for a smooth viewing experience. The site includes few control mechanisms, which makes the website accessible to the majority of visitors, even those who do not wish to give up their email information for access.

USCIS

USCIS has a complex website with different information on a lot of related pages. Most of the information is grouped together in terms of content. For example, the myriad forms all fall under a page labeled 'Forms.' This page allows visitors to access all the forms on the site (see Figure 5.19).

Figure 5.19

"Forms" Page on USCIS' Website



As Figure 5.19 shows, this page provides visitors multiple options to access forms. For example, a site visitor can type the name of the form on the search bar, filter through different types of forms (e.g. Family-Based Forms, or Green Card-Based Forms), or click on the 'Most Popular Forms' option on the left hand menu. Once a visitor picks the correct form, they can find more details about the form (see right-most column in Figure 5.19) or sometimes they can file the form online. However, these online filing systems have various control mechanisms. Some require visitors to submit their email address, while others require visitors to create an Online Account with USCIS (i.e. the myUSCIS account). Since USCIS is the agency processing these immigration documents, such control mechanisms on the site are expected, especially if the agency needs to contact users. These control mechanisms also allow visitors to submit sensitive information (many immigration documents contain such sensitive information) securely on the site. Therefore, the USCIS has some control mechanisms aimed at protecting the privacy of visitors' sensitive information.

The USCIS site contains multiple pages with confusing URLs. That is, by looking at the URL, visitors will not know the pathway to get to that page from the homepage. For example, the 'Case Status Online' page has the following URL (the relevant USCIS URL is bolded):

https://web.archive.org/web/20200323191154/**https://egov.uscis.gov/casestatus/landing.do** This page is under the 'Tools' page. However, it is impossible for a visitor who reached the 'Case Status Online' page by clicking on a link labeled 'Check Case Status' on the homepage to know that this page is grouped with 'Tools' pages. To be more SEO friendly, the URL for 'Case Status Online' should feature the word 'tools.' Another example illustrates how USCIS sometimes offers clearer URL pathways: 'How do I Guide' page. This page is also located with other 'Tools' pages. Its URL is (relevant USCIS URL is bolded):

https://web.archive.org/web/20200314052652/**https://www.uscis.gov/tools/how-do-i-guides**

A visitor who has reached this page through another area of the website can immediately see that this page is grouped with other 'Tools' pages. This URL hints at the structure of the website. Furthermore, visitors know they can readily find the page again by clicking on the landing page 'Tools' from the homepage. Applying a more consistent URL structure would be helpful to site visitors.

The website offers a sense of unity among its various pages. The uniform color scheme and relatively consistent basic outline/structure of each page (with top and left hand menus, and larger information-filled area) suggests that the organization of the website is well thought out. Its consistency makes for a smooth viewing experience as

visitors navigate through the pages. However, as I've mentioned in phase 1, USCIS uses space in a rather intriguing way. Each page on the website is divided into three columns, with a grey vertical strip on either side of the larger center column (this center column contains the top and left hand menus, and all other page-specific information). These grey strips function as rather large side margins, giving the impression that the webpages are cluttered. I would argue that there is a misuse of empty space with these too-wide margins. Reducing the size of these empty spaces on the edges of each page would create more visually balanced pages.

Overall, the USCIS website has a uniform design, positioning sections on different pages in similar ways. Its visual balance is slightly off, given the too-large side margins. However, its consistent color scheme and positioning make for a smooth viewing experience. Most of its pages are grouped together by content type although there are a few anomalies (especially as seen with some pages' URLs pathways). The site includes various control mechanisms, especially where visitors need to submit sensitive information.

Phase 6

I rely on the data and analysis from phases 1-5 to guide the analysis in phase 6. In this phase, I examine the LIRS and USCIS websites in light of the social justice context. I note questions of power and privilege, focusing on design and voices included.

The social justice lens in technical and professional communication (TPC) emphasizes the need for marginalized groups to be involved in product design right from the start of the design process, especially when they are the target audience for these products (see for example, Agboka, 2012; 2013; Rose, 2016). Most studies involving

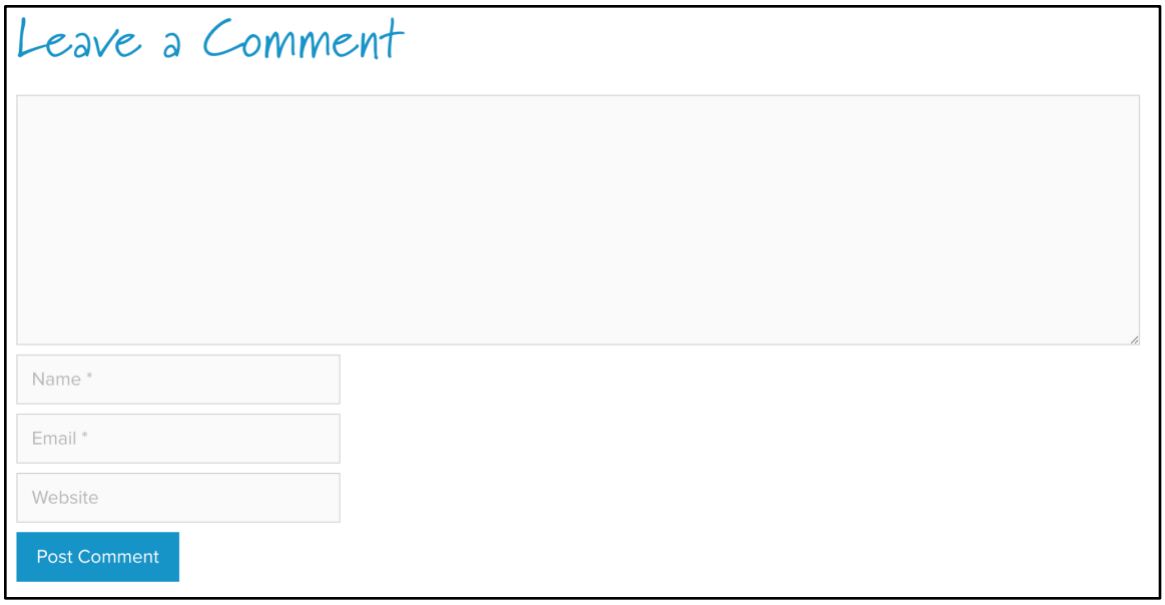
social justice in TPC involve participatory studies (Rose, 2016; Walton, 2016; Petersen, 2016; Rose, Racadio, Wong, Nguyen, Kim & Zahler, 2017). Focusing on context is one way put forth to address social justice in non-participatory studies (Veeramoothoo, 2020; Walton & Jones, 2013). However, as I mentioned in the Methods chapter, a thorough accounting of the context around the deployment of immigration organizations' websites would at least include interviews with web design and maintenance teams, and social media consultants. In a strictly non-participatory study such as this dissertation, such accounting for context becomes difficult. Therefore, I turn to other ways of applying principles guiding researchers interested in social justice to this dissertation. In particular, I focus on Petersen's (2016) empathetic user design and examining issues of power and privilege through the inclusion/exclusion of certain voices (Jones, Moore & Walton, 2016).

Petersen (2016) calls for empathetic user design, where "designers [understand] an audience by living through common experiences or facing the same challenges with usability" (p. 24). Petersen and Walton (2018) suggest that privileging user experience as lived experience is essential in empathetic user design. In this chapter, focusing on the lived experiences of users means listening for the stories and experiences that users publicly share as they use the organizations' websites.

LIRS' website offers the option for users to share comments only on their blog stories. Figure 5.20 shows an example of their comment section.

Figure 5.20

Comment Section on LIRS' "Blog" Page



Unfortunately, most of the blog stories on the LIRS website do not feature any comments. This indicates that site visitors have not taken advantage of these comment sections to engage with LIRS. Since visitors do not engage with the site, no conversations develop around the stories LIRS blog about. One of the reasons behind this lack of engagement perhaps lies in the messaging throughout the rest of the website, where no conversations are encouraged. As discussed in phases 3-5, LIRS does not offer opportunities for conversation on most of its pages; they only engage with visitors through seeking online action (downloading some materials and financial donations) and offline (participating in the numerous activities LIRS organizes). Therefore, revising the content of the website to better serve visitors on the website itself rather than directing them to offline activities might help visitors become more engaged with the blog stories LIRS shares. Unfortunately, we cannot determine with certainty the reason behind this lack of conversation on LIRS' comment sections without interviewing LIRS' content management team and/or interviewing site visitors. Without such interviews, it is difficult

to determine how LIRS can promote more engagement from site visitors. But conducting such interviews and resolving the potential design/content issues might help LIRS' website better embody empathetic user design.

USCIS' website does not offer options for users to engage in conversations online. Therefore, there is no space for site visitors to share their experiences and create a sense of community. USCIS addresses multiple audiences on their website with very different immigration needs. For example, the information useful for the spouse of a US citizen seeking citizenship might not be useful for an immigrant seeking work authorization. However, just as the USCIS website groups together certain types of information (e.g. providing a citizenship resource center), the website could provide comment sections where site visitors can share about their particular immigration experiences (i.e. creating different spaces targeted at different audiences). It is difficult to determine why USCIS does not include such spaces for their site visitors. Interviewing USCIS' content management team might be helpful to better understand the decision making behind the content structure of the website. Interviewing visitors who regularly use the USCIS website might also help with determining what kinds of space visitors would value. Creating spaces where users can form a community and share their lived experiences might help the USCIS website better embody empathetic user design.

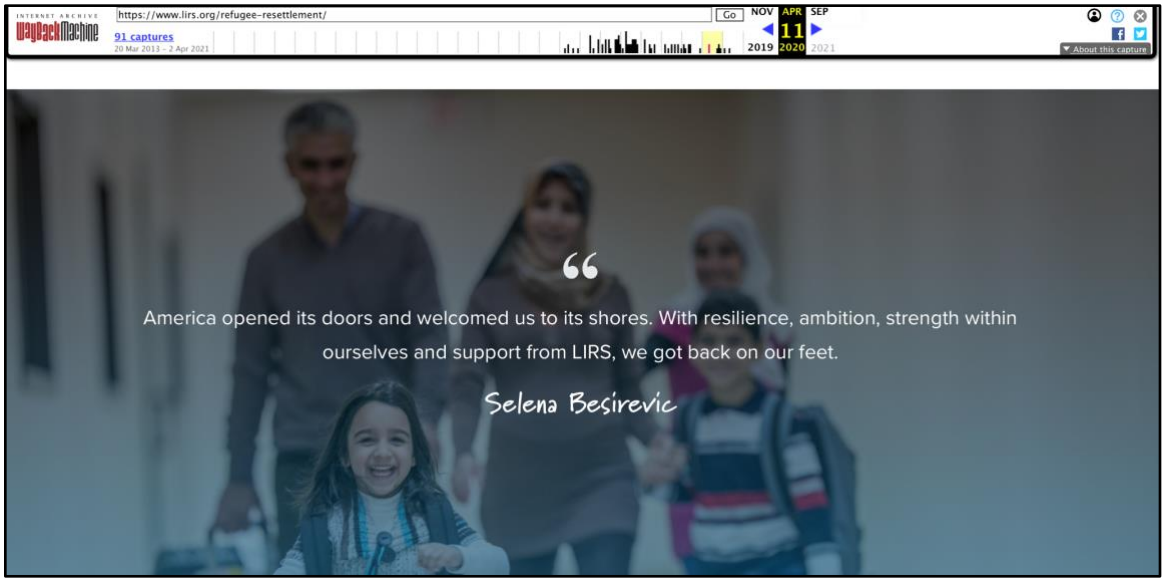
One of the key elements of social justice is examining issues of power and privilege (Jones, Moore & Walton, 2016). With analyses of websites and web content, this means examining whose voices are privileged. Most of the pages on both the LIRS and USCIS websites do not have explicitly mentioned authors. Without interviewing the content management team at each organization, it is difficult to get a sense for the core

content strategy espoused by each organization. The four components of the core content strategy of an organization (see Halvorson & Rach, 2012) depend on the decisions made by the content management team or technical writing team. Therefore, without interviews, it is difficult to understand the decisions behind whose voices are highlighted on LIRS' and USCIS' websites. Having said that, we can still see how each website credits elements of their content.

LIRS' website includes multiple images and quotes from different people on its various pages. These images are particularly heartwarming, showing the humanity of the individuals represented. For example, images often include people smiling, hugging others or in otherwise convivial situations. Similarly, LIRS' website often includes quotes from migrants they have helped. Figure 5.21 shows an example of both an image and a quote on their "Refugee Resettlement" page.

Figure 5.21

Humanizing Picture and Quote from LIRS' Website



These images and quotes reflect the migrants that LIRS serves. While the website itself is not targeted for migrants in need of immigration help, the inclusion of migrant voices and images on the website helps 'put a face' so to speak to the migrants that LIRS aims to help through the contributions (financial and time) it seeks through its website. These inclusive elements also serve to reinforce the message that LIRS aims to convey through its website: shared humanity. The first look site visitors have of the LIRS site shows a message reading "Asylum seeker. Immigrant. Refugee. Human" (see Figure 5.1). These snippets of migrant voices and images, then, allow that core message of shared humanity to permeate throughout the website and reach site visitors.

USCIS' website, for its part, does not include any stories (neither from immigrants or US citizens) within its own content. It only references outside content from other government organizations, such as the Department of State, White House and CDC. Therefore, the website reinforces the stories/news announcements and voices coming from federal sources. This gives USCIS the impression of being an organization in a communication bubble with other government agencies. The lack of stories and narratives reinforces the sense that USCIS is a 'faceless' bureaucratic organization. Their organization of content, especially the immigration forms, further contributes to this image of a bureaucratic organization. While the sheer volume of content the site needs to maintain might help explain their choice to pack content on each page, it does not explain the lack of multimodal elements (e.g. pictures and videos, which could humanize their audiences) in their pages. In short, USCIS could do more to bring a human element to the design and content of their website. This would make the website (and therefore the organization) seem more friendly to site visitors.

Overall, phase 6 shows that LIRS could do more to rework its website design to create community spaces, especially through comment sections. It could work towards a more empathetic user design. LIRS' inclusion of migrant voices and images on its website reinforces the message that migrants are humans whose voices matter. This inclusion, thus, reinforces LIRS' core message of shared humanity. USCIS, for its part, also could do more to create community spaces on its website through comment sections. Similar to LIRS, it could work towards a more empathetic user design. The USCIS website could also include more stories or narratives from migrants, which would bring a human element to their website. Doing so would also show that USCIS envisions migrants as more than site visitors in need of paperwork.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I highlight the kinds of information immigration organizations (in particular LIRS and USCIS) disseminate on their websites. The kinds of information they disseminate can have a meaningful impact on the lives of their site visitors.

Pauwels' (2012) framework has allowed me to examine these two websites from various angles. In phase 1, I record my first impressions of each site. I find that LIRS' website is simple, neat, well organized, and easy to navigate, with a consistent color scheme. The only issue at this stage is the size of the homepage, which requires visitors to scroll quite a bit. LIRS emphasizes the message that they are welcoming and supportive of refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers right from the start. In phase 1, I find that USCIS' website is rather complex, containing a lot of information for various migrant groups. The website seems cluttered, with a rather poor use of white space.

However, it offers a consistent structure and color scheme. USCIS's role in processing immigration documents is immediately understood from the start.

In phase 2, I perform a content audit of the top two layers of each website and in phase 3, I analyze the page names for each site using Applied Thematic Analysis. One key theme is apparent for LIRS' website: site visitor action/ engagement. LIRS' website serves as space to recruit site visitors to engage with the organization in both online and offline ways. Online, site visitors can download resources, donate and subscribe for their newsletter. They can also comment on the blog stories the site posts (but most blog posts contain no comments, implying that site visitors choose not to engage with LIRS through blog post comments). Both donating (especially if visitors select the option of monthly donations) and subscribing aim at building a longer-term relationship with site visitors. Offline, site visitors can join LIRS in physical spaces for several activities.

In phase 3, two key themes are apparent for USCIS' website: Information sharing and publishing; and, site visitor action/ information processing. The website dedicates itself to offering and publishing resources and documents (forms, guides, videos) for various audiences. USCIS publishes all the forms that migrants need for various aspects of their migration experience (e.g. applications for a Green Card). The website places a strong focus on forms and documents. The website also serves as a resource for their audiences as they explain changes in immigration procedures, policies and documents. In terms of site visitor action and information processing, USCIS' website offers their visitors multiple options for online and offline action. Online, visitors can download most of the forms published on the site for submission to USCIS as part of their immigration process (e.g. applying for citizenship) as well as access different tools that provide direct

information about their immigration process. Offline, site visitors can engage with USCIS through their Contact Center (through their phone line) or their USCIS Field Offices. The analysis in phase 3 reveals key differences between how LIRS and USCIS uses their websites. These differences highlight the difference in purpose for each organization: LIRS is an advocacy organization, working to help migrants, while USCIS is a government agency in charge of both distributing and processing immigration documents.

In phase 4, I examine the audiences for each website. I find that LIRS' website addresses several audiences, including volunteers/donors, new volunteers/donors, and migrants. The website encourages their audiences to contribute to LIRS' mission to help migrants in various ways, both online and offline. However, LIRS does not target migrants in need of immigration help on its website. In phase 4, I find that USCIS' website addresses a wide range of audiences, including Congress, military personnel and their family members, the spouses of US citizens, immigrants seeking work, immigrants seeking citizenship or naturalization, and battered spouses, children and parents. The website offers its audiences a broad range of resources and tools, and allows its audiences to interact with the organization, both online and offline. Phase 4 shows that both sites target multiple audiences, with USCIS targeting more audiences than LIRS. Each site also has different expected behaviors from their audiences, with LIRS encouraging advocacy and USCIS offering immigration services online.

In phase 5, I examine how each organization's website organizes information. LIRS' website has a uniform design, positioning sections on different pages in similar ways. It offers a beautiful visual balance, with lots of images. Its consistent color scheme

and positioning make for a smooth viewing experience. The site includes few control mechanisms, which makes the website accessible to the majority of visitors, even those who do not wish to give up their email information for access. In phase 5, I find that USCIS' website has a uniform design, positioning sections on different pages in similar ways. Its visual balance is slightly off, given the too-large side margins. However, its consistent color scheme and positioning make for a smooth viewing experience. Most of its pages are grouped together by content type although there are a few anomalies (especially as seen with some pages' URLs pathways). The site includes various control mechanisms, especially where visitors need to submit sensitive information. Phase 5 shows that while LIRS' website has a well balanced multimodal design, USCIS' website has a less well balanced layout. However, both sites offer consistent structures throughout the sites, making for a smooth viewing experience.

In phase 6, I examine the websites through a social justice lens. I find that LIRS' website lacks community spaces. Site visitors do not use the few comment sections the site offers on its blog pages. The site could work towards a more empathetic user design. LIRS' inclusion of migrant voices and images on its website reinforces the message that migrants are humans whose voices matter. This inclusion, thus, reinforces LIRS' core message of shared humanity. In phase 6, I find that USCIS' website also lacks community spaces, indicating that it could work towards a more empathetic user design. The USCIS website could also include more stories or narratives from migrants. That is, the organization could bring a human element to their website, which would help position USCIS as an organization that also sees migrants as humans rather than simply users in need of paperwork. Phase 6 shows that both LIRS and USCIS could work towards being

more inclusive, and that LIRS is already striving towards that sense of inclusion through the migrant voices they emphasize.

Overall, the analysis shows that each organization's website functions in significantly different ways. The different audiences each organization targets explains the major differences in the content they offer. Each organization has different goals with the content they offer, which is influenced by their mission.

Limitations

While this analysis has shed light on LIRS' and USCIS' websites, several questions remain. One of them involves the core content strategy espoused by each organization. Since no interviews were conducted with the content management or technical writing team writing for each organization, we have limited insight into the core content strategy of the websites, which is a key to understanding online content (Halvorson & Rach, 2012).

Another question emerging involves how each website performs across devices. That is, what is the viewing experience of a visitor accessing the sites from a smartphone or tablet? Research has shown that migrants (especially in the EU) rely heavily on their mobile devices before, during and after migration (Borkert, Fisher & Yafi, 2018; Dekker, Engbersen, Klaver, & Vonk, 2018; Gillespie, Ampofo, Cheesman, Faith, Iliadou, Issa, Osseiran, & Skleparis, 2016). Therefore, on the one hand, we need to examine how migrants in the US use information and communication technologies, and on the other hand, we need to examine how immigration websites perform on these different technologies.

The third question involves translation. The USCIS website offers a Spanish version of the entire site. Due to limited resources, I could not study this Spanish version (I do not speak Spanish and cannot, at this point, hire a translator). Future research could examine the Spanish version of the USCIS site, comparing it to the English version. We could examine whether the content, language and design choices are comparable.

Finally, studying the content of each website could be improved through usability testing. Performing usability tests for each website would help us gain an understanding of how site visitors navigate the content of each site. It would also help us understand the elements that visitors might desire in the websites. For example, it could help us understand if visitors would benefit from community-building spaces on each site.

In the next chapter, I explore LIRS' and USCIS' Twitter accounts and offer an in-depth examination of their tweets, including the content and metadata around these tweets. In so doing, I shed light on how these organizations use their online presence to disseminate information.

Chapter 6: Twitter Analysis

In the previous chapter, I examined the websites of the two key organizations identified in the Organizational Network Analysis chapter, i.e. LIRS and USCIS. In this chapter, I analyze the Twitter accounts of these two organizations, present and discuss results.

This dissertation is focused on how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information. Social media is an essential component to organizations' online presence (Rybalko & Seltzer, 2010). With the growing use of social media over the past decade, an organization's social media's use presents an important point of access to the organization (Stieglitz, 2014). There are many social media apps that dominate the web, some of them going into a phase of popularity before fading into the background. For this dissertation, I have chosen to focus on immigration organizations' use of Twitter. While it would be valuable to look at immigration organizations' use of other social media platforms such as Instagram and YouTube, looking at Twitter is sufficient for the purposes of this dissertation; looking at other platforms is beyond the scope of the dissertation. In fact, one avenue for future research would be to compare immigration organizations' use of different social media platforms.

To answer the main research question of how immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information, it is essential to examine the Twitter accounts of key immigration organizations (i.e. LIRS and USCIS) since social media (Twitter in this case) is integral to an organization's online presence (Rybalko & Seltzer, 2010). Therefore, the goal of this chapter is to shed light on the kinds of information that is distributed through Twitter (a popular social media platform).

Chapter Overview

This chapter examines how LIRS (@LIRSorg) and USCIS (@USCIS) use Twitter to disseminate information. I first offer an overview of social media, particularly Twitter, in research. Then, I discuss Twitter-related ethics before offering a brief description of the procedure used to examine @LIRSorg and @USCIS. Finally, I present and discuss the results of the analysis conducted, focusing first on the first cycle coding before moving on to the second cycle coding.

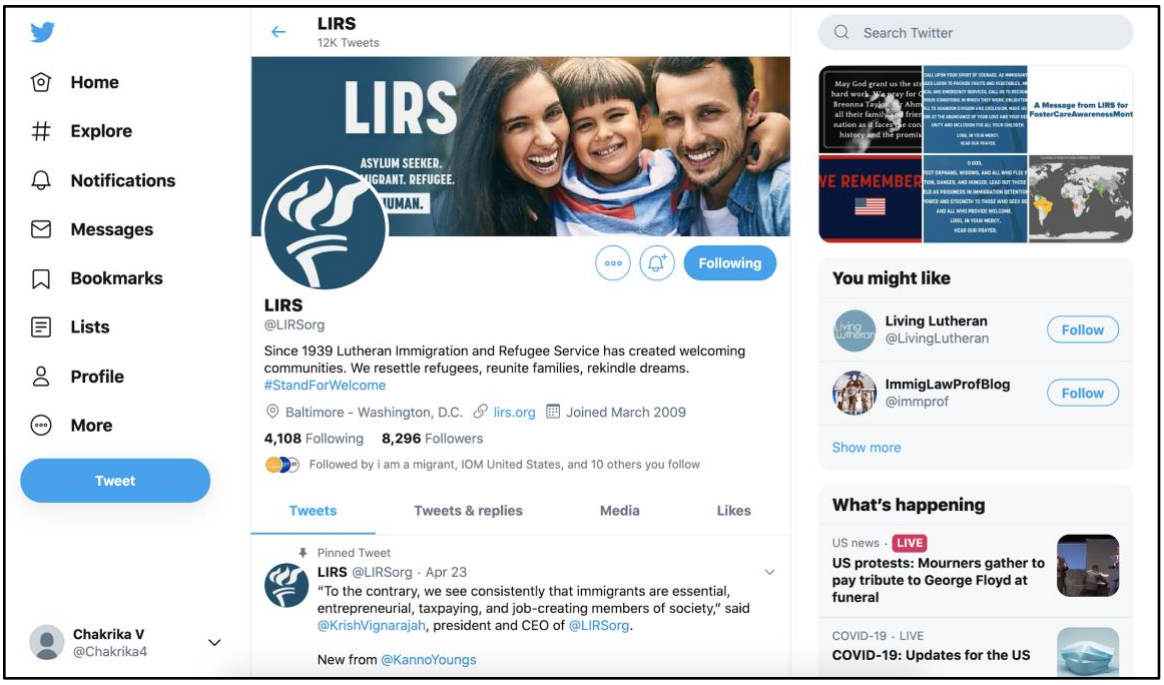
The analysis shows that @LIRSorg and @USCIS tend to use Twitter in different ways. @LIRSorg often advocates for immigrants, emphasizing their shared humanity with immigrants. They also repeatedly call for action from their followers/readers. Finally, they serve as a source of information, sharing general information about immigration, keeping track of immigration laws and policies and most importantly, sharing the stories of immigrants. These stories humanize immigrants in a time when many national figures, including key political actors, criminalize and demonize immigrants. On the other hand, @USCIS mainly uses its Twitter account to emphasize its tools, services and mission. @USCIS often emphasizes information about its online tools and services. This information often includes changes to its operations as well as some policy changes due to Covid-19. @USCIS also repeatedly uses its account to share general immigration information about various issues, such as the controversial Public Charge rule, immigration fraud and scammers. @USCIS also regularly calls on its followers to share information about immigration fraud. Finally, @USCIS also regularly asks its followers to provide user input on its online tools and website, thus recruiting usability tests participants.

In the section below, I offer a brief overview of Twitter as a platform and as a tool for research.

Overview of Twitter

Figure 6.1

Screenshot of LIRS Twitter Account Dated June 9th 2020



As I've mentioned above, this chapter focuses on the social media platform Twitter. There are several social media platforms that are repeatedly talked about today: Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, WhatsApp, Pinterest, TikTok, Snapchat, Twitch and others. Some of these, like WhatsApp, are sometimes described as not social media platforms but messaging apps. As Breuch (2018) noted, researchers might consider each social media platform's goals and purposes before selecting which social media platform to study (p. 51). Each of the social media platforms mentioned above have their own uses. Twitter, for example, is often seen as a microblogging platform.

Over the years, some social media platforms have gained and lost prominence. In the extensive list of social media platforms, Twitter has long featured prominently. It is used by millions worldwide, including key figures and organizations, such as politicians, government organizations, NGOs, intergovernmental organizations, celebrities, and others. Twitter is also one of the social media platforms that are routinely examined by scholars in various fields (e.g. Breuch, 2018; Haustein, 2019; Smith & van Ierland, 2018; Hopke, 2015; Choi & Park, 2014).

Twitter is a highly popular social media platform, founded in 2006 by Jack Dorsey, Noah Glass, Biz Stone, and Evan Williams. Since its creation, Twitter has gained international prominence.

Mobilemarketer.com reports that Twitter had 321 million users globally in its fourth quarter of 2018. After that quarter, Twitter stopped reporting its number of users; instead it uses a metric called the monetizable daily active users. CNBC reported that for its 1st 2020 quarter, Twitter reported 166 million monetizable daily active users. Statista looked at the breakdown of this figure in terms of countries. They noted that "as of April 2020, [Twitter] had audience reach of 64.2 million users. Japan and ... Russia were ranked second and third with 48.45 and 23.55 million users respectively" (Clement, 2020). These figures show that tweets have the potential to reach millions of users worldwide. In fact, on Twitter, much like on other social media such as YouTube, a user is likely to encounter users from other countries.

In practice, the likelihood of any one tweet reaching an audience of millions depends on who is tweeting. A popular figure like President Obama (@BarackObama), who has 119.5 million followers (as of June 2020), is more likely to reach a broad

audience with his tweets than an account with 10 followers. However, what makes Twitter even more powerful is that users can view, retweet and reply to tweets from anyone; that is, they do not need to form a connection with anyone before engaging in a conversation on Twitter (Lam & Hannah, 2016; Daer & Potts, 2014). In fact, Twitter facilitates this kind of engagement by tracking 'Trends' and allowing users to view a series of threads featuring trending hashtags. For instance, during the George Floyd protests, multiple hashtags were trending on Twitter (both nationally and locally), which allowed users to follow 'live' developments in the protests. In fact, because Twitter allows for direct communication between strangers, Twitter often provided more up-to-date information while oftentimes official news organizations were several hours behind in announcing developments in the protests.

Twitter is also a space for companies to communicate directly with users (Breuch, 2018; Lam & Hannah, 2016). Lam and Hannah (2016) noted:

> recent scholarship … alludes to the potential of help desk encounters to move beyond linear, one-way encounters to more social, multi-way interactions (Singleton & Meloncon, 2013). In particular, this scholarship suggests the most effective technical support advice lies not in the official pages of a company's support documentation. Instead, it lies in the nexus of interaction wherein the combination of customer, user, company, and/or interested bystander(s) merges and develops technical support solutions attuned to the facts and circumstances that give rise to the technical issue in the first place. (n.p.)

Therefore, Twitter is a place for immigration organizations to communicate with customers. Importantly, it is a place for customers to interact with immigration

organizations and each other. In this chapter, as I examine the information immigration organizations share on Twitter, I also pay attention to the ways that others respond to these tweets. Finally, I examine how these immigration organizations address customers' questions, comments and concerns as they reply to customers responding to their tweets.

Besides easing online conversations among strangers and serving as a space for direct communication between companies and customers, Twitter is also a powerful research tool. It has repeatedly been used by scholars spanning multiple fields (Breuch, 2019; Haustein, 2019; Smith & van Ierland, 2018; Lam & Hannah, 2016; Hopke, 2015; Choi & Park, 2014). For instance, Breuch (2020) noted the potential of Twitter as a tool for usability after examining the Twitter feedback from users after the launch of two websites (MNsure.org and the Hennepin County Library website). Twitter is popular with researchers for multiple reasons. For one, Lam and Hannah (2016) cited the relative ease of collecting tweets using Twitter Archiving Google Spreadsheet (TAGS), which allows for real time pulling of tweets and attendant information. TAGS is easy to set up and does not require any knowledge of coding, which makes it a highly accessible tool for researchers. Given Twitter's format, it allows for rapid creation and sharing of bite-size information with a wide array of fellow users. Given the character restriction on tweets (limited to 280 characters), Twitter allows users to scroll through a great number of tweets rapidly, gaining a glimpse of multiple points of view (i.e. "hearing" from many people on an issue). Twitter's features of retweets (sharing another user's tweet verbatim), quoting tweets (adding to a user's tweet with additional commentary), replying (responding directly to a user's tweet) and favoriting (endorsing a tweet but not sharing the tweet) also make it particularly a rich source of data for researchers (Lam &

Hannah, 2016). Given these reasons and its 'trending' feature which gives it the ability to have a finger on the pulse on what Twitter users care about, Twitter presents a great research tool.

@LIRSorg and @USCIS

LIRS joined Twitter in March 2009, naming its account @LIRSorg. As of June 16 2020, @LIRSorg has 8295 followers and follows 4114 accounts. It describes its account thus:

"Since 1939 Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service has created welcoming communities. We resettle refugees, reunite families, rekindle dreams. #StandForWelcome."

USCIS joined Twitter in May 2008, naming its account @USCIS. As of June 16 2020, @USCIS has 211,000 followers and follows 114 accounts. It describes its account thus: "Official Twitter account of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. Regional accounts: @USCISMediaNorth @USCISMediaSouth @USCISMediaCntrl @USCISMediaWest."

Note that @LIRSorg follows @USCIS but USCIS does not follow @LIRSorg. Given the role of USCIS as a federal agency to set rules, it is not surprising that @LIRSorg would follow @USCIS. However, given LIRS' prominence in immigration, I am surprised that @USCIS does not follow @LIRSorg. A brief look at the accounts that @USCIS follows shows that it mostly follows the accounts of other government agencies and key figures, such as the President's and Vice President's official accounts.

Social Media and Controversies

In this section, I briefly address some of the scandals and controversies surrounding social media platforms. Two social media platforms, namely Twitter and Facebook, have long dominated the social media world. In fact, the Washington Post noted in a 2020 article that the majority of US voters have a Facebook account (Timberg, 2020). However, as social media use grows, there has been a spate of misinformation circulating on these platforms in recent years. In the months leading up to the 2016 Presidential election, "fake news" repeatedly circulated on social media, often manipulated by foreign agents. The US Senate's Committee on Intelligence reported the following:

> In 2016, Russian operatives associated with the St. Petersburg-based Internet Research Agency (IRA) used social media to conduct an information warfare campaign designed to spread disinformation and societal division in the United States … Masquerading as Americans, these operatives used targeted advertisements, intentionally falsified news articles, self-generated content, and social media platform tools to interact with and attempt to deceive tens of millions of social media users in the United States. This campaign sought to polarize Americans on the basis of societal, ideological, and racial differences, provoked real world events, and was part of a foreign government's covert support of Russia's favored candidate in the U.S. presidential election. (p. 3)

The US is not the only country facing misinformation circulating about key events on social media. For example, CNBC reported that an EU report has found that there is

continued misinformation on Facebook, Twitter and Google (Schultze, 2019). The report went on to ask these companies to ""step up their efforts" in fighting fake news" (n.p.).

More recently, the main social media platforms have dealt with misinformation about key health information during the Covid-19 global pandemic (e.g. see Hope, 2021). Companies have had various responses about the issue. For example, in a bid to suppress misinformation during the pandemic, Twitter started putting warning messages (fact-checking) tweets spreading misinformation (BBC, 2019). Twitter has applied this process, even to highly prominent accounts, like that of President Trump (@realDonaldTrump). Facebook, for its part, has opted for such controls in only some cases by claiming the need for free political speech (Westfall, 2020). For example, while removing Covid-19 related misinformation (about hydroxychloroquine) from Brazil's president, it didn't do so for other world leaders, such as President Trump.

I should note that these fact-checks are not perfect solutions. Tweets, even popular ones, can fall through the cracks. For example, tweets featuring misinformation circulated widely during the George Floyd protests without being flagged down by Twitter. A series of tweets, circulating over several days, claimed that a Saint Paul police officer was seen looting a store in Minneapolis (with tweets juxtaposing the picture of the looter with that of the officer). Saint Paul police's Twitter account was forced to issue a denial that their officer was involved in the looting. Therefore, while Twitter's efforts are helping in controlling misinformation, especially from prominent sources, it still has potential to do more in that area.

Finally, much can be written about social media platforms, "fake news," self-regulation and lack of oversight. But I will not address these issues here. I have presented

an overview of the issue with misinformation to indicate some of the downsides to removing barriers to communication that reaches a broad audience. Some social media researchers have recently turned their attention to this aspect of social media (e.g. Garrett, 2019). I should emphasize that these issues do not take away from the value that examining social media brings. In this dissertation, the focus is on the information that immigration organizations circulate on Twitter and how their audiences take up this stream of information. This study will shed light on whether repeated misinformation is circulating among these audiences as they respond to these organizations. It will also shed light on how organizations respond to their users.

Ethics

There are several elements to consider when looking at ethical social media research. For years, researchers have used social media, including Twitter, to study various issues. Over time, these researchers have discussed the ethics involved in Internet, and social media in particular, research.

One of the elements is the choice of tweet collection tool. There have been many ways of collecting Twitter data over the years. One particularly popular method has been using TwapperKeeper.com, which created a public archive of tweets which researchers could access (see Jones, 2014, for example). However, a couple of years ago, Twitter condemned such public archives. TAGS, and various other programs which allow for private archiving of tweets, is an ideal solution to the problem of public archives of tweets.

Another element to ethics is somewhat similar to the discussion of scraping in the Organizational Network Analysis chapter. As I mentioned then, scraping is a highly

controversial practice that has generated questions about its legality (see also the Association of Internet Researchers' *Internet Research: Ethical Guidelines 3.0*). Therefore, scraping Twitter for its contents, by for example copying and pasting tweets from Twitter into a Word document, is a practice to avoid in social media research.

A final element to ethics is the question of the privacy that users might expect in online platforms. Content posted online that is publicly available does not require IRB approval for analysis. However, researchers have still expressed privacy concerns, especially when users discuss personal, sensitive or difficult topics (see McKee & Porter, 2008; Walls & Vie, 2017). For this dissertation, I have only used tweets that have been published from @LIRSorg and @USCIS. Since they are both national organizations, I consider their tweets (and general use of Twitter) as public information that can be fairly analyzed since they do not share personal information about employees or others. I tend to view their tweets in a similar light to news releases to the wider public.

As researchers, it is critical to maintain an ethical approach to data and participants. While social media does not usually involve direct interaction between participants and researchers, it is still essential that we consider the ways our work impacts those we highlight in our research. As I have mentioned above, in this dissertation, I aimed to ethically collect and analyze tweets from the chosen immigration organizations, @LIRSorg and @USCIS.

In the section below, I briefly discuss the procedure in collecting and analyzing tweets from @LIRSorg and @USCIS.

Procedure

After identifying the two main organizations from the network overview for further analyses, I collected Twitter data for these organizations. Following Breuch (2018) and Lam and Hannah (2016), I used Twitter Archiving Google Spreadsheet (TAGS) to collect tweets from the Twitter accounts of these organizations (@LIRSorg and @USCIS). Data collection occurred between January 7th 2020 and June 11th 2020 (which is approximately 6 months' worth of data). While TAGS collected all tweets from @LIRSorg and @USCIS including replies directed to these two accounts, I have focused my analysis solely on tweets from these two immigration organizations. While providing insight into how people interact with immigration organizations, other tweets, such as replies to these two accounts, are beyond the scope of the research questions.

In this dissertation, I follow Breuch (2018) and use an applied thematic analysis framework. In the Methods chapter, I discuss in depth my choice of applied thematic analysis. Following Saldana (2009), I do two cycles of coding. The first cycle is divided into two stages per Goodman and Light (2016). In the first stage of the first cycle, I focus on analyzing the tweeting rhythms, hashtags used, urls present, retweet counts, and reply counts. In the second stage of the first cycle, I use Antconc to determine the top occurring words in the corpus of tweets for each organization. I also find the concordances of these top occurring words to understand the contexts in which they occur (a Keyword-In-Context, i.e. KWIC, approach). This cycle gives me initial codes and the ways they are used in the tweets. In the second cycle, similar to Breuch (2018), I write analytical memos from these top occurring words and their concordances as well as potential larger categories. I repeat this process three times, a week in between, in an effort to improve

the reliability of the analysis (see Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012, chapter 4). This cycle gives me the broader categories that inform the tweets.

This analysis provides insight into the ways these two immigration organizations use Twitter to disseminate information. In addition, they shed light into how these two organizations interact with other organizations and people. This analysis also examines whose voices these two organizations prioritize and amplify. Finally, this analysis examines both the ways each organization discusses immigrants and immigration as well as the kinds of information they provide to immigrants and non-immigrants in their tweets.

The two stages of analysis in the first cycle are made possible through the rich data TAGS collect. The first stage of analysis is possible through the metadata that TAGS collects alongside tweets. This metadata includes the dates tweets were posted, the hashtags and urls they contain, whether they were replies to another account, retweets as well as the body of tweets. Finally, TAGS also includes a link to the original tweets so that we can view them directly on Twitter. The second stage of analysis relies solely through the content of the body of tweets that TAGS pulls.

Despite the advantages TAGS present for this analysis, it also presents some limitations. It sometimes cuts off the body of tweets, especially when the amount of text in the tweet is too long. This might be due to the program not being able to process the new character limit of 280 characters per tweet. Another limitation includes TAGS sometimes creating two entries for a single tweet. This is a serious problem since it interferes with many of the analyses performed above. Therefore, the data set had to be manually inspected for this issue. However, at this time, there are hardly any other

programs that interface with Twitter's API to collect tweets and metadata. In the past, researchers could make use of public archives (Jones, 2014). However, as I mentioned above, there has been some concern from Twitter over the development of such public archives. Researchers have also written their own programs to interface with the Twitter API (Chew & Eysenbach, 2010; Siapera, Boudourides, Lenis & Suiter, 2018). Unfortunately, I could not find their programs or source codes online. Therefore, for this dissertation, TAGS remains the best option to collect tweets.

In the sections below I present the results of the two cycles of analysis for each organization.

First Cycle of Coding, First Stage: Twitter's Metadata - COVID-19, Immigration Stances and Laws/Policies

In this section, I present the results for the first cycle of coding, first stage of analysis. In particular, I focus on the metadata TAGS collected from @LIRSorg's and @USCIS' tweets. I present an overview of the data collected, the rhythm of tweeting of each organization, the organizations' use of hashtags, the media content present in the tweets, and finally each organization's retweeting and replying behaviors.

Overview of collected data

In this subsection, I present an overview of the data collected. Table 6.1 shows the total numbers of tweets collected.

Table 6.1

Total Number of Tweets Collected for @LIRSorg and @USCIS

	Total # of tweets from @LIRSorg	Total # of tweets collected with the tag @LIRSorg	Total # of tweets from @USCIS	Total # of tweets collected with the tag @USCIS
Number	1148	9651	507	136550

For Table 6.1, note that the tweets with the tag @LIRSorg include tweets directly from @LIRSorg and replies to these tweets. Similarly, the tweets with the tag @USCIS include tweets directly from @USCIS and replies to these tweets. As Table 6.1 shows, there were about 14 times more tweets involving the tag @USCIS than the tag @LIRSorg. However, the account @USCIS tweeted more than twice the amount @USCIS. These numbers are not surprising given that @LIRSorg only has 8295 followers while @USCIS has 211,000 followers (more than 25 times the number of @LIRSorg's followers). Given that @USCIS is a government agency, it follows that more people would both follow its tweets and interact with it through replies.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I focus on the tweets originating from @LIRSorg and @USCIS. To reiterate, the guiding research question is: **how do immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information?** Therefore, the focus in this chapter is on the information that @LIRSorg and @USCIS circulate on Twitter. This includes the ways they respond or don't respond to replies addressed to them. An avenue for future research includes examining the replies that

immigration organizations receive. Breuch (2020) noted Twitter as a rich source of information that organizations can use for usability purposes. Therefore, future research can examine what kinds of information is shared/asked through users' replies and thus, how immigration organizations can use that data to inform what they share online and how they do so.

Rhythm of Tweets

In this subsection, I discuss the rhythm of tweeting for @LIRSorg and @USCIS. Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3 below show the number of tweets over time for @LIRSorg and @USCIS respectively. Looking at the frequency of tweets can give us a sense of the pattern of tweeting from each organization. In addition, it allows us to determine when the number of tweets peak, therefore allowing us to determine if certain events (i.e. events occurring at certain times) trigger a corresponding increase in the number of tweets. In their work on the frames on refugees emerging on Twitter, Siapera, Boudourides, Lenis and Suiter (2018) described these moments as indicating "an evolving story" where "spikes [are] taken to mean an event and an accompanying story" (p. 5).

Figure 6.2

Frequency (i.e. Number of Tweets over Time) of Tweets from @LIRSorg

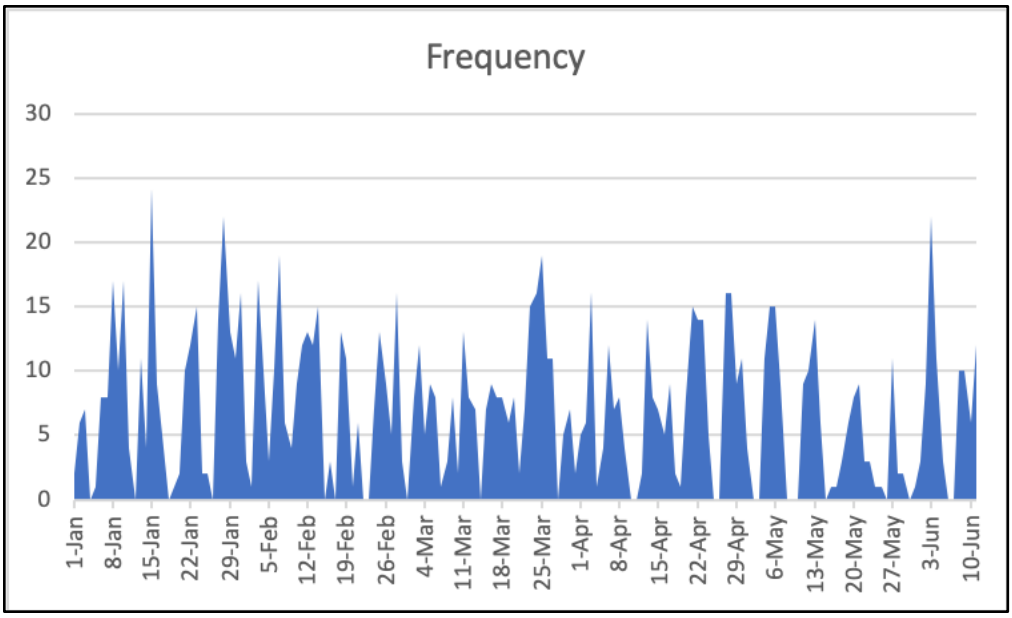
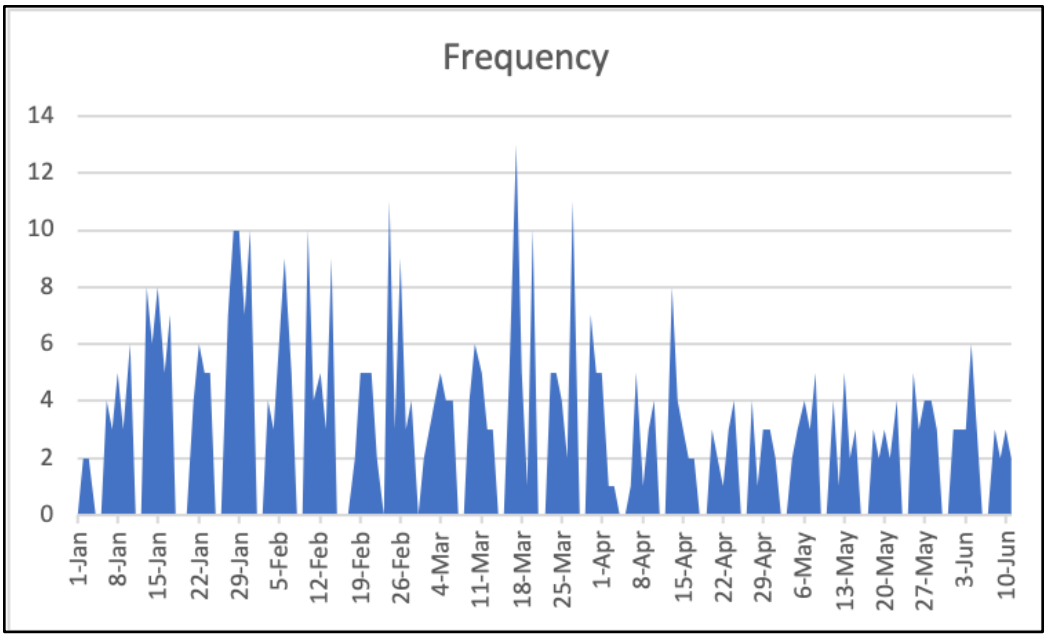


Figure 6.3

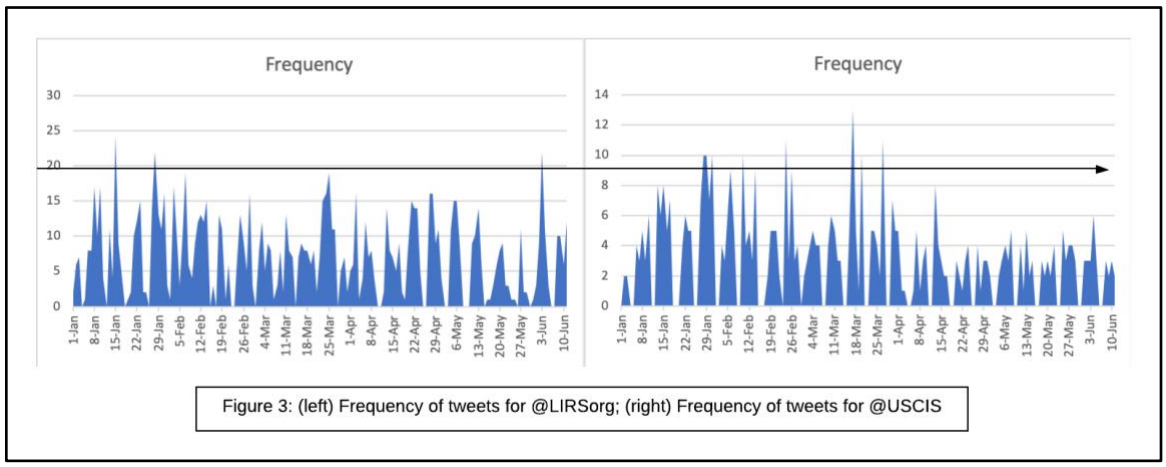
Frequency (i.e. Number of Tweets over Time) of Tweets from @USCIS



As Figure 6.2 and 6.3 show, there have been several peaks in the 6-months' period that we've examined. Some of the peaks feature a higher number of tweets than others, perhaps pointing to more prominent stories.

Figure 6.4

Frequency of Tweets for @LIRSorg (Left) and @USCIS (Right)



Examining the rhythms of tweets also sheds light on whether each organization tweets more at certain times (thus allowing us to see if both organizations react similarly to key events). Figure 6.4 above shows a line going through ¾ of the total number of tweets for each organization. This line helps us visualize the highest peaks for each organization. For @LIRSorg, these correspond to the weeks of January 15, January 29, February 5, March 25 and June 3. For @USCIS, the peaks correspond to the weeks of January 29, February 12, February 26, March 18 and March 25. Figure 6.5 below shows these peaks with the corresponding dates.

Figure 6.5

Dates Corresponding to Peaks for @LIRSorg and @USCIS

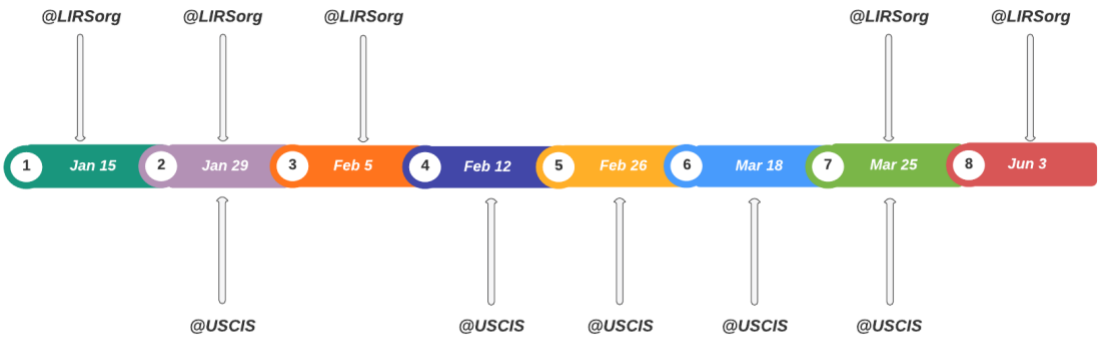


Figure 4: Dates corresponding to peaks for @LIRSorg and @USCIS

As Figure 6.5 shows, both @LIRSorg and @USCIS feature peaks on January 29 and March 25. This might indicate that key immigration stories emerged on/around those dates.

The tweets during the range of days surrounding January 29 (including the week before and after January 29) reveal that there wasn't a main story emerging about immigration in that time period. A quick Google search about immigration news stories from that period (including USCIS' news archives from that time) does not reveal any major immigration story emerging. This suggests that the organizations might simply have been maintaining a consistent social media presence during this time. Running the tweets from @LIRSorg and @USCIS from that period through Antconc shows the following most frequently occurring words in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2

Top Occurring Words for @LIRSorg and @USCIS in Time Period Around Jan 29

Top Ranked Word	Examples

@LIRSorg	Refugees	Info about refugees; the work LIRSorg is doing with refugees
	You/your	Call to action; thanking people
	We/our	Sense of shared community/space (e.g., our immigration justice system, our own State, our immigrant culture)
	Ban	Info about travel ban and asylum ban; call to action to stop the ban
@USCIS	You/your	What people can do (e.g. file forms online, visit websites, renew forms/green cards, etc.)
	We/our	What USCIS is doing or will do (e.g. changed some process for forms); asking for input (e.g. we want input…)
	Immigration	Discuss immigration cases (what people can do); system (preserving integrity of immigration system); fraud (providing information on immigration fraud)
	Online	What people can do online (e.g. file forms online, people's online account, renew forms/green card, etc.)

As Table 6.2 shows, there is no common thread emerging from both organizations. @LIRSorg mostly focused on providing information about refugees and calling people to take action in immigration issues. @USCIS, on the other hand, focused on providing information on the services people can access/use, what USCIS is doing and more general immigration information. Thus, while both organizations rely on Twitter during that period to provide information, the type of information (or rather goal of the information) differs.

The second common peak for @LIRSorg and @USCIS occurs around March 25. The key story emerging at the time is the lockdown due to Covid-19. Running the tweets

from @LIRSorg and @USCIS from that period through Antconc shows the following most frequently occurring words in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3

Top Occurring Words for @LIRSorg and @USCIS in Time Period Around Mar 25

	Top Ranked Word	**Examples**
@LIRSorg	Immigration	Info about people in immigration detention centers, of postponement of imigration hearings, about having access to testing regardless of immigraiton status
	We/our	Call to action to support and message (e.g. support our friends, clients, migrant brothers and sisters)
	Immigrant	Info about detained immigrants; thanking immigrant physicians
	All	Call to action to support all immigrant families to get access to testing regardless of status
@USCIS	You/your	What people can do (actions, resources they can access, etc.)
	We/our	What USCIS did and will do (e.g. suspending in person services, contact affected applicants, etc.)
	All	Info about all in-person services being suspended
	Online	What people can do online (e.g. create online account); info about online resources

As Table 6.3 shows, the top ranking words for both organizations around March 25 centered around issues linked to Covid-19. @LIRSorg mostly focused on providing information about immigrants in difficult situations (such as issues migrants in detention centers face related to Covid-19) and calling people to take action in immigration issues. While also focusing on Covid-19, @USCIS tended to provide information on the services

people can access/use and how USCIS is responding to the pandemic (such as suspending in-person services). While both organizations rely on Twitter during that period to provide information specifically related to Covid-19, the type of information again differs.

Overall, the findings from Tables 6.2 and 6.3 indicate that Siapera et al.'s (2018) method of examining rhythms of tweeting to identify evolving stories might not always be reliable when following Twitter accounts rather than hashtags (as Siapera et al. did). While there was no particular story around January 29, Covid-19 was the revolving story surrounding the peak occurring around March 25. This latter finding highlights the influence the pandemic has had on Twitter communications from both @LIRSorg and @USCIS. It would be worthwhile to repeat this study of rhythm with tweets collected at a different time period to assess how rhythm results vary.

In the subsection below, I explore the hashtags that @LIRSorg and @USCIS used over the 6-month period of data collection.

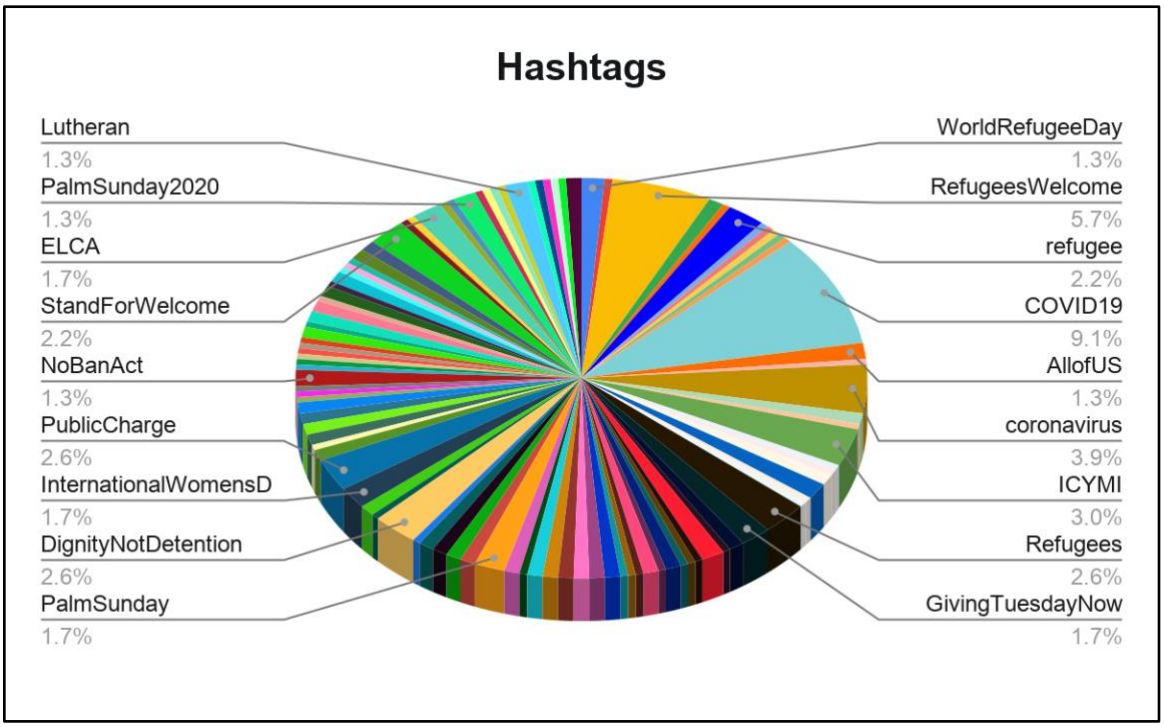
Hashtags

Hashtags are important sources of information. They allow Twitter users to form connections with each other through their messages around a given topic. Siapera et al. (2018), for instance, used the hashtags #refugee, #refugeecrisis, # flüchtling and others to examine the frames on refugees emerging on Twitter. Similarly, Jones (2014) examined how Twitter users used the hashtag #healthcare to communicate about the 2009 debate on healthcare. Since users make use of hashtags to participate in a topic-driven conversation, looking at hashtags can help us understand the kinds of conversations that the immigration organizations wish to engage in. Hashtags can also reveal what

audiences they'd like to converse with. Figures 6.6 and 6.7 show the hashtags @LIRSorg and @USCIS use respectively.

Figure 6.6

Hashtags from @LIRSorg



As Figure 6.6 shows, @LIRSorg used a broad range of hashtags from January to June 2020. Figure 6.6 highlights the hashtags that feature prominently from @LIRSorg. This organization used #COVID19 9.1% of the time. This indicates that LIRS repeatedly engaged in conversations about Covid-19, which is not surprising given the global scale of the pandemic and its consequences on migrant communities. #RefugeesWelcome is another prominent hashtag emerging, which highlights the generally positive attitude LIRS displays towards migrants, particularly refugees. Another broad-ranging hashtag is #ICYMI (i.e. in case you missed it), which is generally informative in nature. Tweets

featuring #ICYMI usually contain some snippets of information, such as court rulings, immigration decisions from key figures, sources for viewers to check out, and so on. Some of the hashtags used address momentary events or celebrations, such as #InternationalWomensDay which trended on March 8 (the International Women's Day). While highly relevant on/around March 8, this hashtag doesn't trend much beyond March 8. Overall, three themes emerge from these hashtags:

- Support for refugees/migrants (through #WorldRefugeeDay, #RefugeesWelcome, #refugee, #AllofUs, #Refugees, #DignityNotDetention, #PublicCharge, #NoBanAct, #StandForWelcome)
    - Example: '#AllofUS means all of us. #ImmigrantsWelcome #RefugeesWelcome.' These words accompany a retweet from @AllofUS_United, which reads: 'Now is the time to show what has made the US the bastion of hope for immigrants and refugees from all around the world. In the end, it truly will take #AllOfUS, together, to overcome the impact of the Covid-19 virus - Bishop Mario E. Dorsonville.'
- Covid-19-related tweets (through #COVID19, #coronavirus), and
    - Example: @LIRSorg retweets the following from @TentOrg: '#Refugees & immigrants are playing an integral role in keeping essential services up and running during the #COVID19 crisis. Learn how @Upwardly_Global is helping support #refugees in the workplace! https://upwardlyglobal.org.' This tweet from @TentOrg is accompanied by a retweet from @UpwardlyGlobal, which reads 'Carlos is just one of many UpGlo alumni keeping our communities safe and essential services

running. Your support now will ensure that more newcomers are able to put their skills to work where they are most needed! https://give.classy.org/supportimmigrants… #AllofUs #SupportingImmigrantsTogether'

- The religious affiliation of @LIRSorg (through #PalmSunday, #ELCA, #PalmSunday2020, #Lutheran). Note that while these hashtags were not prominent enough to be displayed in Figure 6.6, @LIRSorg also used hashtags to mark prominent holidays from many other religions. This again highlights @LIRSorg's efforts to be welcoming to all.
    - Example: @LIRSorg retweets from @LuthWorldRelief: 'As we begin the journey of Holy Week with #PalmSunday, let us remember that even when we are apart, we are all one body in Christ, called to love our neighbors near and far.' This retweet is accompanied by a picture of children and the words 'Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord! - Matthew 21:9.'

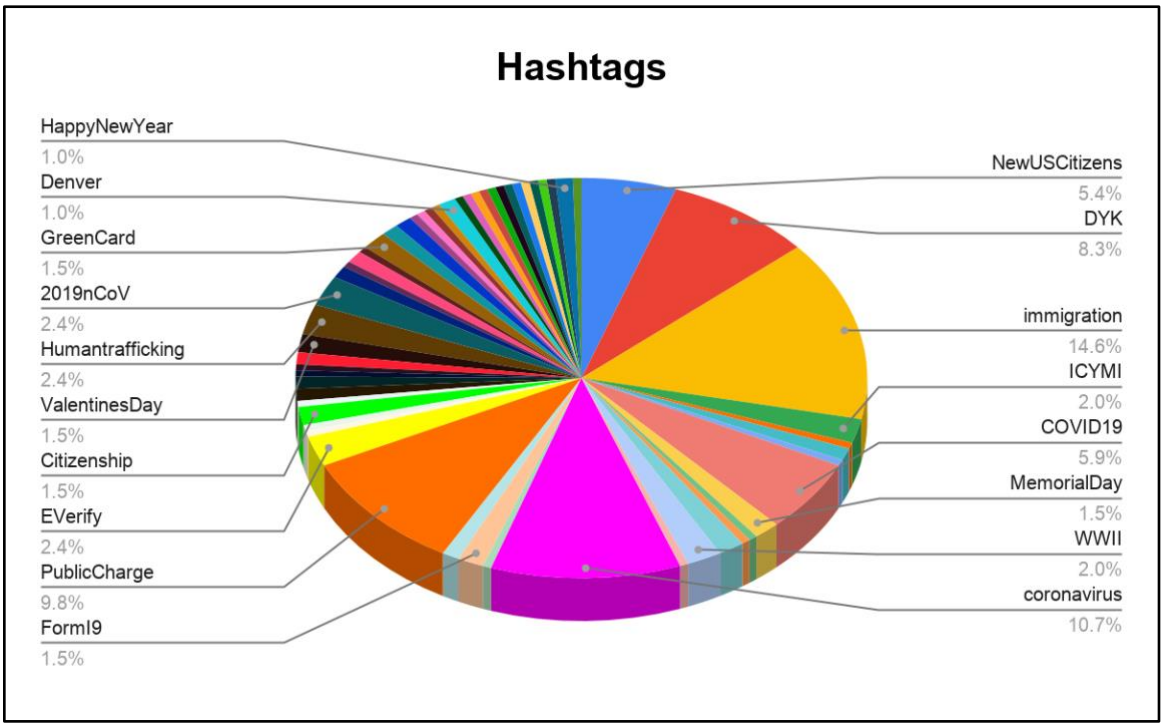
These themes reflect the general messaging and tone that @LIRSorg exhibits through its Twitter account.

Figure 6.7 below illustrates the hashtags that @USCIS used between January and June. Figure 6.7 highlights the hashtags that feature prominently from @USCIS. This organization used #immigration 14.6% of the time. This indicates that USCIS repeatedly engaged in conversations about immigration, which is not surprising given USCIS' key role in enacting immigration laws and processing immigration forms. #coronavirus is another prominent hashtag emerging. Similar to @LIRSorg, this hashtag reflects USCIS'

engagement with Covid-19-related conversations. Since the pandemic affected the world, it is not surprising that @USCIS repeatedly used #coronavirus.

Figure 6.7

Hashtags from @USCIS



The third highest hashtag #PublicCharge refers to the public charge rule that came into effect during the time of data collection. USCIS describes the rule thus:

> An alien who is likely at any time to become a public charge is generally inadmissible to the United States and ineligible to become a lawful permanent resident. Under the final rule, a public charge is defined as an alien who has received one or more public benefits, as defined in the rule, for more than 12 months within any 36-month period. (from USCIS' Public Charge Fact Sheet)

This Public Charge rule has been highly controversial. Shortly before it was scheduled to go into effect in October 2019, several federal courts prevented DHS from implementing it. However, the US Supreme Court allowed DHS to implement the rule in February 2020. When it was allowed to go forth with implementing the rule, USCIS sent a series of tweets featuring #PublicCharge about the Public Charge rule, informing users about the rule going forth and providing general information about the rule. Note that #PublicCharge (at 2.6%) also featured among the most prominent hashtags used by @LIRSorg.

Like with @LIRSorg's hashtags, some of the hashtags @USCIS used address momentary events, remembrances or celebrations, such as #MemorialDay and #ValentinesDay (each at 1.5%). Overall, three themes emerge from these hashtags:

- Immigration laws and resources (through #NewUSCitizens, #immigration, #FormI9, #PublicCharge, #EVerify, #Citizenship, #HumanTrafficking, #GreenCard)
    - Example: 'Questions about online filing or #immigration? Connect with Emma, our virtual assistant, while you're on the go or at home and get answers to your questions. Emma is available on desktop and mobile and in both English and Spanish.' This tweet is accompanied by a link to the USCIS website.
- Covid-19 related tweets (through #COVID19, #coronavirus, #2019nCoV)
    - Example: '@POTUS and @DHS are hard at work protecting our borders during the #COVID19 pandemic.' This tweet is accompanied by a link to

a video from @WhiteHouse45, featuring Chad Wolf (former acting Secretary of Homeland Security)

- Events/remembrances/celebrations (through #MemorialDay, #WWII, #ValentinesDay, #HappyNewYear)
    - Example: '#MemorialDay looks a little different this year. We may not have remembrance ceremonies, but this gives us time to reflect on what today means. Let's look back at special military naturalization ceremonies honoring naturalized U.S. citizens who lost their lives defending America.' This tweet is accompanied by 3 pictures showing previous military naturalization ceremonies.

Overall, the first theme of immigration laws and resources is the most prominent. It reflects USCIS' role as the government agency tasked with overseeing immigration into the US. A quick look into the tweets featuring the theme of immigration suggests that there is a range of content present in these tweets. Further analysis will be done to understand the type of content featured in these immigration-related tweets.

The hashtag analysis shows that while both @LIRSorg and @USCIS are immigration organizations, they approach immigration in different ways on Twitter. @LIRSorg tends to feature a migrant-positive messaging while @USCIS tends to focus on the legal and procedural aspects of immigration. Even when they used common hashtags, such as #coronavirus, they focused on separate issues. @LIRSorg tended to highlight the plight migrants faced during the pandemic while @USCIS tended to highlight the ways the pandemic impacted their ability to offer in-person immigration

services. The hashtags thus illustrated the ways the immigration organizations were positioning themselves in the national as well as Twitter immigration conversations.

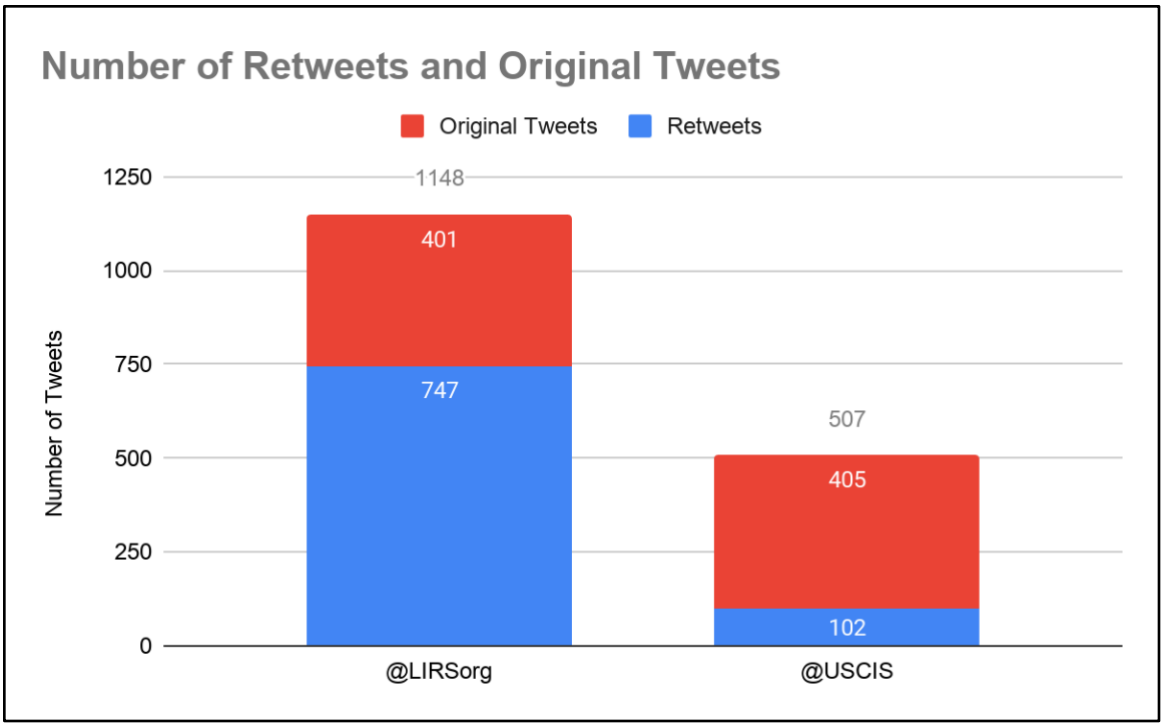
In the subsection below, I explore how @LIRSorg and @USCIS retweet over the 6-month period of data collection.

Retweets

Retweeting is a key feature of Twitter. It is used for widespread distribution of messages, allowing messages to circulate around many communities (i.e. the communities each retweeter belongs to). Retweeting also indicates people and/or messages who are particularly popular on Twitter. Running the body of tweets for @LIRSorg and @USCIS separately through Antconc indicates that each organization frequently retweets. Over the 6 month period of data collection, @LIRSorg retweeted 747 times (or 65% of all tweets sent) while @USCIS retweeted 102 times (or 20% of all tweets sent). Figure 6.8 shows the number of retweets and original tweets (i.e. tweets that are not retweets).

Figure 6.8

Number of Retweets and Original Tweets from @LIRSorg and @USCIS



As Figure 6.8 shows, @LIRSorg tends to send more retweets than original tweets while @USCIS tends to send more original tweets than retweets.

Since retweeting amplifies the voices of those being retweeted, it is important to understand whose voices are being amplified by immigration organizations. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 below show the retreets of the main accounts @LIRSorg and @USCIS respectively.

Table 6.4

Top Accounts Retweeted by @LIRSorg

	Name of Account	Name of Person/Organization	Frequency
1	@Krishvignarajah	Krish O'Mara Vignarajah - LIRS' President and CEO	139
2	@Refugees	UNHCR	42
3	@MigrationPolicy	The Migration Policy Institute	28

4	@CompassionVan n	LSSNCA (Lutheran Social Service National Capital Area)	27
5	@interfaithimm	Interfaith Immigration Coalition	20
6	@RCUSA_DC	Refugee Council USA	19
7	@ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	18
8	@IRAP	International Refugee Assistance Project	17
9	@camiloreports	Camilo Montoya-Galvez - Immigration reporter from CBS News	16
10	@HIASrefugees	HIAS	12

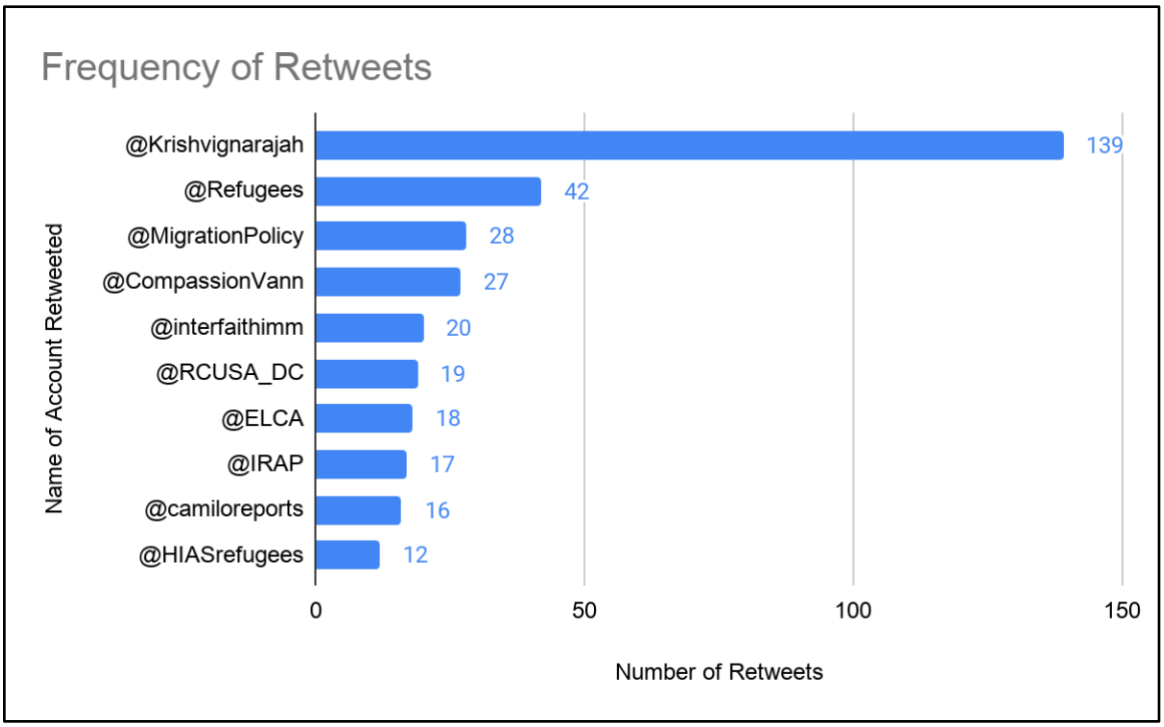
As Table 6.4 shows, the top 10 retweeted accounts feature key figures in the world of immigration. @Krishvignarajah is the top retweeted account for @LIRSorg. This is the account of Krish O'Mara Vignarajah, LIRS' President and CEO. Since Vignarajah leads LIRS, it follows that the organization would seek to amplify her voice and that her messages would align with @LIRSorg's general messaging and tone. The second top-retweeted account is @UNHRC, which is the primary international organization involved in helping refugees. Again, this aligns with @LIRSorg's messaging in support of refugees, as we've seen with the hashtags it uses. The rest of the accounts in the list involve mostly other immigration organizations, such as the Migration Policy Institute, HIAS and Refugee Council USA. One notable account is @camiloreports, which is the handle of Camilo Montoya-Galvez, a reporter from CBS. Table 6.4 thus shows the strong connections linking @LIRSorg with other immigration organizations and hints at the links between @LIRSorg and news organizations.

Figure 6.9 below shows the relative frequencies for the accounts retweeted. It shows that @Krishvignarajah is retweeted more than thrice the number of times the next

top retweeted account, @Refugees. This aligns with the strong central messaging that @LIRSorg exhibits.

Figure 6.9

Frequency of Retweets from @LIRSorg



As Table 6.5 shows, the top 10 retweeted accounts feature other government figures and agencies. @USCIS most frequently retweeted @DHS_Wolf, which is the account of DHS' then Acting Secretary, Chad Wolf. Since Wolf was leading DHS and therefore USCIS, it follows that the organization would seek to amplify his voice. It also means that his messaging aligned with the agency's goals. Again, since USCIS operates under DHS, it is not surprising that the second top-retweeted account is @DHSgov, as it amplifies the messaging of its parent department.

The rest of the accounts in the list involve mostly other government individuals and agencies involved with immigration. One notable exception is @CDCgov, which is the handle of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. This can be explained by the spread of the global pandemic during the data collection period and CDC's role in leading the national response to the pandemic. Table 6.5 thus shows the connections linking @USCIS with other immigration-centered government agencies and individuals. It is rather surprising that @USCIS does not frequently retweet international or prominent national immigration organizations.

Table 6.5

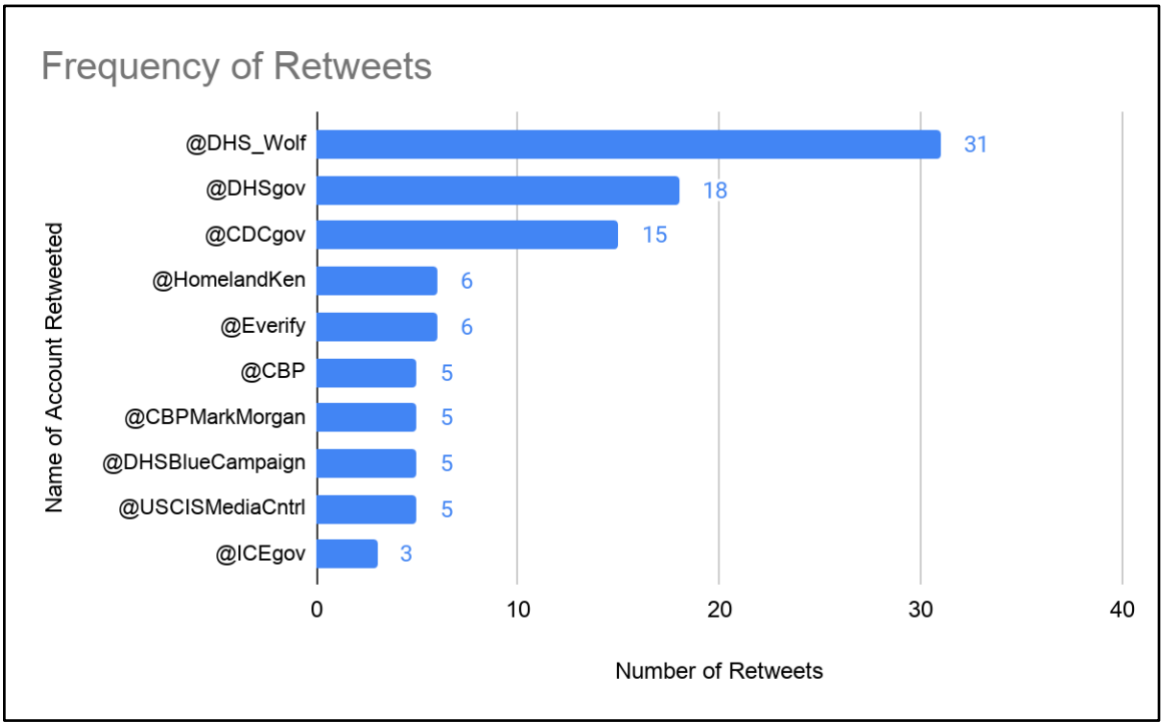
Top Accounts Retweeted by @USCIS

	Name of Account	Name of Person/Organization	Frequency
1	@DHS_Wolf	Chad Wolf - DHS then Acting Secretary	31
2	@DHSgov	Department of Homeland Security	18
3	@CDCgov	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention	15
4	@HomelandKen	Ken Cuccinelli - DHS then Acting Deputy Secretary	6
5	@Everify	USCIS' E-Verify	6
6	@CBP	Customs and Border Protection	5
7	@CBPMarkMorgan	Mark Morgan - CBP's then Commissioner	5
8	@DHSBlueCampaign	DHS' Blue Campaign - against human trafficking	5
9	@USCISMediaCntrl	USCIS' Central Region media account	5
10	@ICEgov	Immigration and Customs Enforcement	3

Fig. 6.10 below shows the relative frequencies for the accounts retweeted. It is rather surprising that, just like @LIRSorg, @USCIS retweets its leader much more often than other accounts. In this case, @USCIS retweets @DHS_Wolf almost twice as often as it retweets @DHSgov, its parent department.

Figure 6.10

Frequency of Retweets from @USCIS



Overall, the analysis of the retweets from @LIRSorg and @USCIS reveals that each organization tends to retweet its leader much more often than other accounts. Each organization retweets other immigration organizations most often. However, @LIRSorg tends to retweet international and national organizations that often help immigrants and refugees while @USCIS tends to retweet government individuals and agencies involved in immigration. Just as the hashtags highlighted the differences in the roles and goals of

the tweets from each organization, the retweet analysis also highlights the differences in the role that each organization plays in immigration.

In the subsection below, I explore how @LIRSorg and @USCIS reply to users over the 6-month period of data collection.

Replies

Twitter provides a space for organizations to engage with users. As Lam and Hannah (2016) showed, organizations can use Twitter to interact with customers to provide, among other things, technical support. Similarly, Twitter provides a direct line of communication between customers and organizations, allowing customers to ask questions, demand explanations or call for action from organizations. Twitter thus provides a space where organizations can learn what customers need from them. Breuch (2018), for instance, suggested using the feedback on social media to inform website designs (thus social media's potential in usability).

While looking at the replies that @LIRSorg and @USCIS receive is beyond the scope of the dissertation, it is productive to look at the replies that @LIRSorg and @USCIS provide. Figure 6.11 below shows the accounts to which @LIRSorg replies and how often it does so for each account. As Figure 6.11 shows, @LIRSorg replies most often to its own tweets. This often happens when an account posts a series of tweets rather than a single tweet because they need to post more information than the 280 characters-limit per tweet allows. Over the 6-month period from January to June, @LIRSorg has also responded twice to @ELCA, @jvplive, @DavidKubat1, @paul_raich. The first three accounts are those of organizations or individuals working in immigration and human rights. They belong to the following organizations/individuals:

@ELCA - Evangelical Lutheran Church in America; @jvplive - Jewish Voice for Peace; @DavidKubat1 - Immigration Attorney at Zimmer Law Group. The last account does not seem to be affiliated with immigration. The last account describes itself as the "Supply Planner for a high tech communications equipment company. My tweets are my own and not affiliated with my employer" (@paul_raich's description). Both replies to @paul_raich consisted of @LIRSorg thanking @paul_raich for their support. These responses to @paul_raich are a great example of @LIRSorg directly interacting with users on Twitter who talk about immigration without being directly affiliated with an organization working in immigration. I should note that from @paul_raich's comments, they have a close link to immigration since both their parents and spouse are immigrants. I have not investigated whether other users who reply to @LIRSorg have a personal connection to immigration/immigrants. However, investigating whether a person's connection to immigration/immigrants influences whether Twitter users respond to immigration topics and how they do so is a potential avenue for future research.

Figure 6.11

Graph of Replies from @LIRSorg

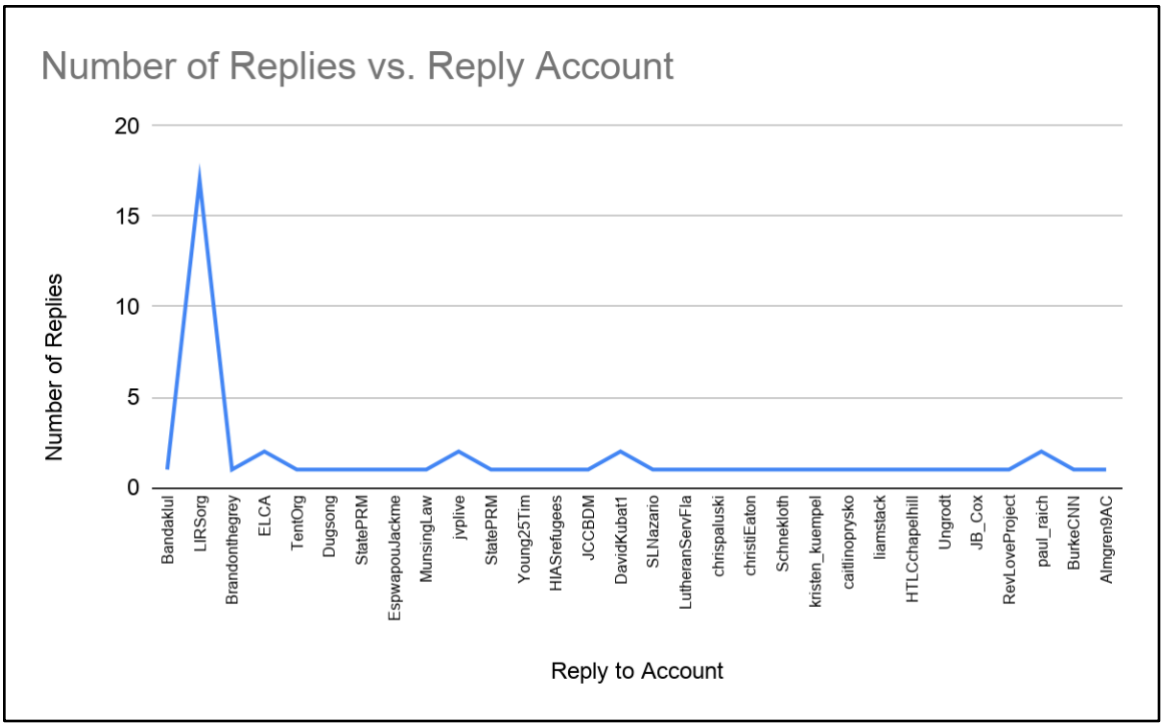
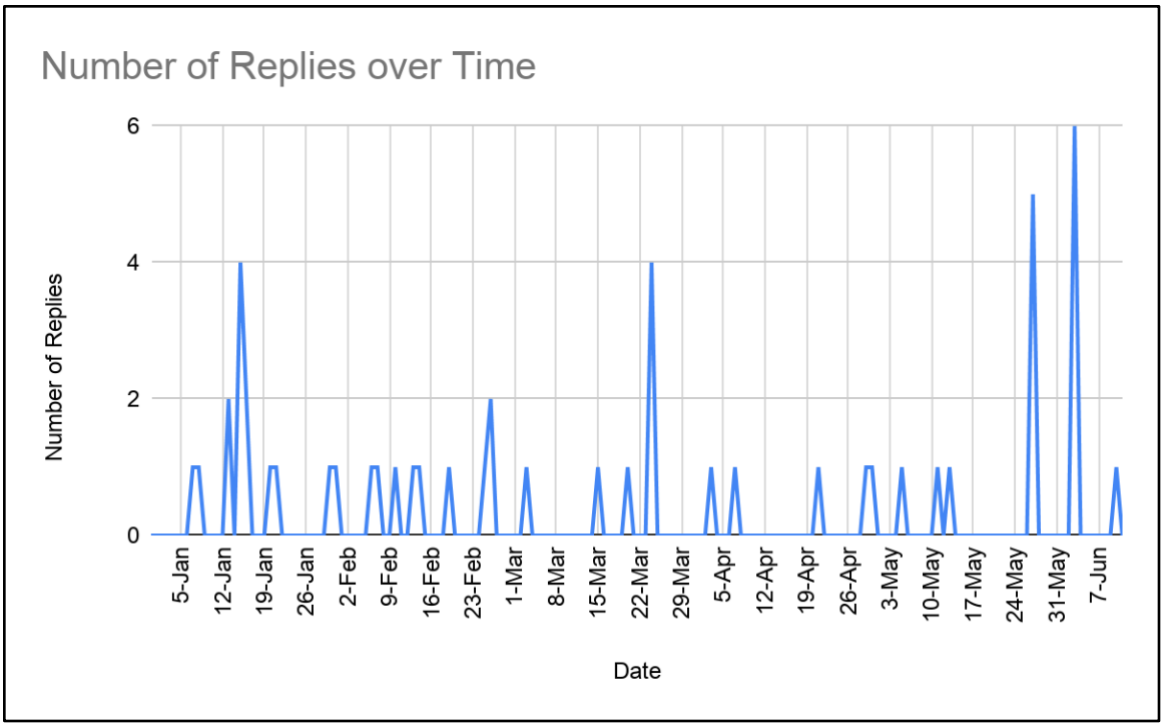


Figure 6.11 also shows that @LIRSorg has also replied to 25 other organizations/individuals beyond the accounts mentioned above. From the above, note that at least one account belongs to a journalist (i.e. @BurkeCNN). The others belong to a range of individuals and organizations.

Fig. 6.12 below shows the frequency of replies from @LIRSorg.

Figure 6.12

Graph of Number of Replies over Time from @LIRSorg



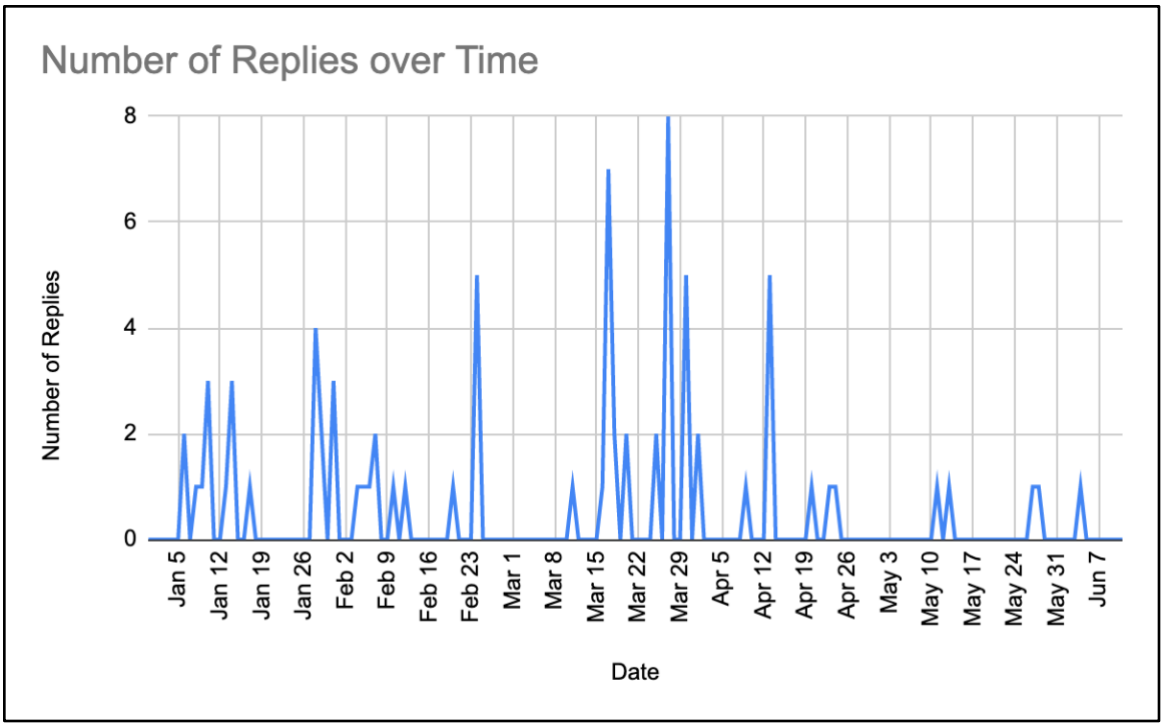
There are four main peaks in Figure 6.12: around Jan 12, March 22, May 24 and May 31. Two of these peaks correspond with peaks in the overall rhythm of tweeting from Figure 6.5 above (which featured corresponding peaks around Jan 15 and March 25). As mentioned above, the peak around March 25 corresponded to the country enacting lockdowns due to coronavirus. @LIRSorg replied 5 times to itself on May 27 and 6 times on June 3. However, @LIRSorg replied to a range of other accounts on Jan 15, namely @ELCA, @JB_Cox, @RevLoveProject, @paul_raich. We've already discussed @ELCA and @paul_raich. @JB_Cox is an attorney at International Refugee Assistance Project while @RevLoveProject describes itself as "producing stories, tools, curricula, films & mobilizations rooted in the ethic of love" (@RevLoveProject's description). The latter goes on to say on their website that their "current projects focus on racism, nationalism, and hate against Sikh, Muslim, Arab, and South Asian American

communities" (the revolutionary love project). Based on our current data, it is difficult to determine why @LIRSorg chose to reply more on certain days than others, especially when it comes to replying to accounts other than @LIRSorg. Therefore, future research might interview those individuals in charge of immigration organizations' Twitter accounts to determine how they decide who to reply to and when to do so.

As opposed to @LIRSorg, @USCIS has responded only to its own tweets over the six-month period from January to June. Most of these replies consist of threaded replies where @USCIS discusses something over multiple tweets (again due to the character limitations per tweet). Figure 6.13 shows the frequency of replies from @USCIS. Figure 6.13 shows peaks around Jan 26, Feb 23, March 15, March 29 (2 peaks), and April 12. I turn to Figure 6.5 from the subsection 'Rhythm of Tweets' again to understand these peaks in replies from @USCIS. Figure 6.5 shows that there is a peak around Jan 29, Feb 26, March 18, and March 25. These correspond to the peaks around Jan 26, Feb 23, March 15 and March 29. As you can see, I am discussing peaks around dates because the graphs tend to represent this big range of dates in weekly increments, which means that discussing exact dates is difficult. Therefore the peaks from Figure 6.13 approximately correspond to the peaks in Figure 6.5, except for the peak in replies on April 12. These results suggest that the increased number of replies corresponded to the highs in the rhythm of tweeting.

Figure 6.13

Graph of Number of Replies over Time from @USCIS



Given the anomaly of April 12, I have turned to the replies from that date to understand its relevance. @USCIS replied 5 times to itself on April 13. This series of tweets revolved around informing immigrants about the need to file for extensions of their stays if they intend to stay longer in the US. @USCIS discussed excusing delays in filing for extensions based on extraordinary circumstances, such as Covid-19. They followed by a reply stating that those in the Visa Waiver Program are generally ineligible for extension of stays but USCIS can grant them 30 days to depart the US due to Covid-19. Finally, the last reply shared a resource on its website about its response to Covid-19. Thus, this series of tweets aimed at providing information to immigrants about extending their stays during the pandemic. However, I cannot determine why @USCIS posted this information on April 13, rather than earlier. It might be linked to many countries closing their borders and airlines suspending flights beginning in March. But again, I am unsure

why there was this delay in sharing information about extensions of stay on Twitter. In this case, just as with @LIRSorg, it would be productive to interview the people behind @USCIS' Twitter account to determine why they share certain information at certain times. The topic of this series aligns with the analyses above which showed that Covid-19 has been a prominent discussion topic for both @USCIS and @LIRSorg.

Overall, the analysis of replies from @LIRSorg and @USCIS show that both organizations reply most often to themselves. In fact, @USCIS replies only to itself, despite receiving questions multiple times as replies to their Twitter posts. Therefore, it is clear that @USCIS neither uses its Twitter account to interact with other users, nor do they provide assistance on Twitter. This finding is consistent with previous studies who examined how organizations engage with users on social media and found that organizations often do not use Twitter to interact with their audiences (Lovejoy, Waters & Saxton, 2012; Rybalko & Seltzer, 2010). Yet, this might be a missed opportunity on their part. Lam and Hannah's (2016) work, for example, suggest that organizations can use Twitter to provide technical support. Hashtags could play an important role here; future research could examine how hashtags oriented toward "customer service" versus just organizational announcements influence the interactions organizations have with their audiences on Twitter. @LIRSorg, for its part, responds to certain replies from other accounts, showing that they somewhat interact with other users. They reply most often to other immigration organizations or individuals involved with immigration, such as immigration lawyers. They can also increase the impact of their organization by interacting more frequently with more users. Overall, while @LIRSorg fares better than

@USCIS on replying to followers, both organizations could reply more often to their followers.

First Cycle of Coding, Second Stage: Word Frequencies and Concordances

In this section, I discuss the results of the second stage for the first cycle of coding. In particular, I explore the most frequently occurring words in the tweets from @LIRSorg and @USCIS over the 6-month period of data collection.

@LIRSorg Most Frequently-Occurring Words

In this subsection, I discuss the second stage for the first cycle of coding. I look at the top occurring words in the body of tweets for @LIRSorg and @USCIS. Given the discrepancies in numbers of overall number of tweets, I examine these top words from each account separately.

I ran the tweets through Antconc to determine the top occurring words. While running the 'Word List' function and sorting by frequency, I ignored such words as prepositions. For example, 'the' in the @LIRSorg document was the second highest-occurring word at a frequency of 946. However, I ignored it in Table 6.6 below because it is a relatively meaningless word for the purposes of answering our research questions. I also ignored words that refer to metadata, such as rt (i.e. retweet), because I have already examined metadata in the first stage of analysis.

Table 6.6

Frequency of Highest-Ranked Words among @LIRSorg's Tweets

Rank	Word	Frequency
1	we/our/us	534
2	refugee*	316

3	you/your	195
4	they/their/them	170
5	immigrant*	127
6	immigration	88
7	covid/coronavirus	81
8	all	78
9	new	78
10	family/families	78
11	today	75
12	detention	64
13	not	62
14	more	58
15	people	58
16	thank	57
17	about	53
18	administration	53
19	can	51
20	here	49
21	just	47
22	asylum	46
23	resettlement	45
24	court	44
25	ice	43

Table 6.6 shows the highest-ranking words occurring in tweets from @LIRSorg. As Table 6.6 shows, personal pronouns and associated possessive adjectives feature prominently in the list of top key words from @LIRSorg. ‘We/our/us’ has a frequency of

534, ‘you/your’ has a frequency of 195 while ‘they/their/them’ has a frequency of 170. The concordances for these ‘we/our/us’ show that ‘our’ is grouped into three broad groups. The first group consists of people @LIRSorg affiliates itself with, including ‘our children,’ ‘our migrant brothers and sisters,’ ‘our followers,’ and ‘our clients’ among others. For example, @LIRSorg tweets: ‘Will you step up and help the most vulnerable of our migrant brothers and sisters at this time of crisis?’ with a link to an article about migrants in detention. The second group consists of immigration-related terms, such as ‘our shores,’ ‘our southern border,’ and ‘our case against CBP’ among others. For example, @LIRSorg tweets: ‘For over 80 years, we have helped refugees and immigrants find safety on our shores. It is our deepest conviction that the United States should offer refuge and opportunity for everyone, regardless of the color of their skin. But we know that is often not the case.’ The third group consists of their resources, such as ‘our response,’ ‘our Virtual Town Hall,’ ‘our website,’ ‘our foster care programs’ and ‘our full press release’ among others. For example, @LIRSorg tweets: ‘This #GivingTuesdayNow can we count on you to support refugee families? Our response includes rent assistance, care packages, children’s educational materials, and more. TRIPLE your gift thanks to a match from a generous supporter! https://bit.ly/2SFq2L5.’ For the word ‘we,’ @LIRSorg tends to focus either on action, such as ‘we are called upon to,’ and ‘we challenged the Trump administration’s executive order,’ or on emotions, such as ‘we are heartbroken by the loss of George Floyd,’ and ‘we are extremely disappointed to witness the Supreme Court’s deference to to the administration’s inhumane and unlawful immigration policies.’ Overall, the concordances here emphasize @LIRSorg’s positioning itself with

immigrants, their actions about immigration laws and policies they oppose, and their emotional reactions towards these actions and policies.

The concordances for 'you/your' revolves around two main groups: asking people to take actions and thanking them. In the first group, @LIRSorg calls for 'you' to take action by for example writing: 'Here's how you can join the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic,' or 'Have you called your #legislator or #MemberOfCongress about #immigration today? Support the #NoBanAct!' Alongside taking concrete action, a subset within this group is @LIRSorg asking 'you' to take action to gain more knowledge. For example, they tweet 'Have you ever been confused about the difference between ICE, CBP, and ORR? Do you know the difference between camps?' In the second group, @LIRSorg sends a series of thank you tweets to followers, such as 'Thank you for sharing our message!' or 'Thank you for your support.' Overall, the concordances here emphasize the need for followers to take action, with @LIRSorg thanking those who've taken some actions.

The concordances for 'they/their/them' revolves around sharing what immigrants and refugees do or need. These tweets are usually informing Twitter followers about immigrants' value as well as vulnerability. For example, @LIRSorg tweets: 'They are not a burden on us or our state. They are a blessing. They bless us by their example' with a link to a story about a Syrian refugee family from Dallasnews.com. Another example is: 'Almost 300 ICE detainees have tested positive for COVID-19. They're scared and they need your support. Here are 3 ways to help…' followed by a link to a resource on the LIRS website. Overall, the concordances here emphasize the actions and needs of immigrants, with a focus on their stories which help humanize immigrants.

Table 6.6 also shows a number of words directly related to immigration such as 'refugee*,' 'immigrant*,' 'immigration,' 'asylum,' and 'resettlement.' The word 'resettlement' occurs exclusively alongside refugees. The concordances for 'refugee*' and 'immigrant' revolve around a number of themes, including sharing stories about the life experiences of refugees, emphasizing the positive contributions that refugees make, discussing legislation about refugees, asking for support for refugees and sharing LIRS' work with refugees. For example, during the pandemic, @LIRSorg tweeted 'Thank you to all of our incredible and brave nurses! Nearly 25% are refugees and immigrants, but no matter where they come from, they're our heroes!' In this tweet, the mention of refugees and immigrants highlight how migrants contribute to the healthcare sector at a time when healthcare workers are much needed. The concordances around 'immigration' revolve around policies, laws and enforcement. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted about the policy changes the administration made during the pandemic: 'In a little over a week, there have been a dozen changes, ranging from postponing immigration hearings to pausing deportation….' Similarly, the concordances for 'asylum' tend to focus on policies, laws and enforcement. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted 'seeking asylum is legal' accompanied with text art (also known as ASCII art or keyboard art) showing a person peeking from behind a tall wall. Overall, the concordances for this group of words surrounding immigration tends to focus on policies, laws and enforcement, especially condemning those that are anti-immigration, on one hand and humanizing refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers by showcasing their contributions and sharing their stories on the other hand.

Table 6.6 shows another group of words that focus on the legal aspect of immigration: ‘detention,’ ‘administration,’ ‘court,’ and ‘ice.’ The concordances for ‘detention’ show that @LIRSorg mostly condemns the conditions in detention centers and presents the emotional, mental and physical difficulties immigrants in these centers face. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted “People in detention need to be protected. We are human just like everybody else. We live and die just like you, and we will die just like you. We all breathe the same air; it’s not like some breathe Republican air and some breathe Democrat air.” This tweet is a direct quote from the article @LIRSorg attached to the tweet from the website ourprism.org. The article was an interview with an immigrant in a detention center. The concordances for ‘administration’ shows that @LIRSorg mostly condemned the Trump administration’s various executive orders and policies concerning refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted ‘We just won an important legal battle against the administration's cruel executive order on refugee resettlement,’ referring to the executive order that aimed to allow local governments to refuse refugee resettlement in their state. This tweet also highlights the active role LIRS takes in fighting legal battles to protect refugees and immigrants. The concordances for ‘court’ often revolve around the decisions various courts make as well as the legal challenges immigration organizations lodge with various courts. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted a direct quote from an article from news organization, apnews.com: “The Trump administration on Monday appealed a federal court order requiring the U.S. Border Patrol to provide beds, blankets, showers, quality food and medical evaluations to migrants held in many Arizona facilities longer than 48 hours.” The concordances for ‘ice’ revolve around ICE’s detention centers, highlighting the plight immigrants face in

these detention centers. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted on March 29 2020: 'As of right now, 2 detainees, 5 detention center workers and 19 ICE employees have tested positive for COVID-19. We know this is a potential powder keg. Rikers island has 132 cases in a population of 4,700 – the highest infection rate in the world.' Overall, the concordances for the words related to the legal aspect of immigration show that LIRS condemns the Trump administration's policies, highlighting the legal battles they are waging against some of these policies and informing followers of the plight refugees and migrants are facing.

Table 6.6 shows another three groupings: 1) 'today,' 'here,' and 'just'; 2) 'not,' and 'can'; 3) 'more' and 'about.' I discuss these three groupings together because they all revolve around taking action. The concordances for the first grouping show that the words tend to emphasize a sense of immediacy and/or urgency. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted 'Define yourself today: http://lirs.org/take-action/,' thereby compelling followers to take action now. Another example in this grouping is: 'Feeling helpless? Here are 4 ways you can support refugees and migrants during the coronavirus pandemic. #RefugeesWelcome #HopeCantBeQuarantined.' This tweet again compels followers to take action now. Finally, a third example in this grouping is: 'The House Judiciary Committee just now approved the #NoBanAct for a vote on the House Floor. Tell your member of Congress to support the #NoBanAct!' This tweet first shares most recent information/news about immigration before again asking followers to take action. This first grouping then emphasizes immediacy and/or urgency and calls for action.

The concordances for the second grouping of 'not' and 'can' show @LIRSorg calling for action. With 'not,' @LIRSorg discusses what should not happen. For example,

they tweet ‘Coronavirus doesn’t have a nationality or a passport. And it’s already here. We must not demonize immigrants out of fear. It is more important than ever to embrace coordination with the international community to ensure the protection of all, regardless of age, race or creed.’ This tweet uses the word ‘not’ to emphasize their point of treating immigrants well during the pandemic. Another example is the following: ‘This #GivingTuesdayNow can we count on you to support refugee families? Our response includes rent assistance, care packages, children’s educational materials, and more. TRIPLE your gift thanks to a match from a generous supporter!’ This tweet exemplifies the majority of tweets with ‘can’ and ‘not’ calling for followers to take action.

The concordances for the third grouping of ‘more’ and ‘about’ show @LIRSorg’s use of Twitter to provide information. For example, @LIRSorg tweeted: ‘There are more than 32,000 immigrants confined to detention right now. But it wasn't always this way. Learn about the history of immigration detention and see how you can offer hope here: https://www.lirs.org/hope-in-detention.’ This tweet shows @LIRSorg providing information about immigrants before asking followers to educate themselves further by going to their website. Overall, the three groupings discussed above focus on asking followers to take actions with slightly different emphases on immediacy/urgency, direct action and action to educate.

Finally, table 6.6 features the words ‘coronavirus/covid,’ which is not surprising given the global pandemic that has been affecting the world since January 2020, and gathered attention in the US since March 2020. This points to Twitter being a good space for organizations to readily mention/discuss prominent current events. As seen through the concordances discussed above, the concordances for ‘coronavirus/covid’ focus on

how the pandemic is affecting immigrants, the contributions immigrants are making, especially in the healthcare sector, the policies and actions the Trump administration and federal agencies have been enacting about immigration during the pandemic and the actions, including legal actions, that LIRS has been taking.

Overall, this section examined the concordances for the top occurring words in @LIRSorg's tweets. The concordances suggest that @LIRSorg's tweets revolve around providing information about current events (such as COVID-19) and immigration policies (including the actions LIRS is taking against some of those anti-immigration policies), calling on readers/followers to take action on behalf on immigrants, and sharing stories about immigrants (including their contributions and needs). In the next subsection, I similarly examine the concordances for the top occurring words in @USCIS' tweets. In the last section of this chapter, I will report the findings from the 2nd cycle of coding.

@USCIS Most Frequently-Occurring Words

In this subsection, I discuss the first cycle of coding for the second stage of analysis for USCIS. Table 6.7 shows the highest-ranking words occurring in tweets from @USCIS. As Table 6.7 shows, personal pronouns and associated possessive adjectives feature prominently in the list of top key words from @USCIS. This is similar to @LIRSorg, who also featured pronouns among the top ranked words. 'You/your' has a frequency of 383 while 'we/our/us' has a frequency of 375. This use of pronouns and possessive adjectives give a sense of conversation between @USCIS and their Twitter followers. For example, on February 27 2020, they tweet: "Don't chance it. If you are feeling sick, cancel or reschedule your USCIS appointment without penalty by following the instructions on your appointment notice," linking to a resource about Covid-19 on

their website. The high use of pronouns by both @USCIS and @LIRSorg highlight Twitter as a platform inviting conversations.

Table 6.7

Frequency of Highest-Ranked Words among @USCIS' Tweets

Rank	Word	Frequency
1	you/your	383
2	we/our/us	375
3	immigration	76
4	online	74
5	covid/coronavirus	70
6	file/filing	66
7	form/forms	65
8	office/offices	59
9	about	58
10	can	44
11	help	44
12	all	39
13	more	39
14	services	34
15	need	32
16	question/questions	31
17	public	30
18	rule	30
19	may	28
20	naturalization	27
21	final	26
22	not	26

23	today	26
24	registration	24
25	learn	23

The concordances for the top ranked words in Table 6.7 reveal several groupings. The first grouping includes the following: ‘you/your,’ ‘immigration,’ ‘online,’ ‘file/filing,’ ‘form/forms,’ ‘can,’ ‘need,’ ‘question/questions,’ ‘naturalization,’ and ‘not.’ The concordances for this grouping reveal a focus on people’s needs; that is, the concordances revolve around what ‘you’ can do/use and what questions ‘you’ might have. For ‘online,’ file/filing,’ ‘form/forms,’ ‘can,’ ‘need,’ and ‘question/questions,’ the focus is mostly on online tools and services. For example, @USCIS tweets “Connect with Emma, our virtual assistant, while you're on the go and get answers to your immigration questions. Emma is available on desktop and mobile and in both English and Spanish. https://uscis.gov/emma #USCISOnlineTools.” Note that they include a link to their website in this tweet. For ‘immigration,’ and ‘naturalization,’ the concordances revolve around what questions people (or rather, ‘you’) might have. For example, @USCIS tweets: “Was your naturalization ceremony canceled due to COVID-19? If don’t hear from us about your new ceremony date within 90 days of offices reopening, please contact us through our Contact Center,” followed by a link to the Contact Center on their website. The concordances for ‘immigration’ reveal an added focus with tweets discussing immigration fraud and USCIS’ role in fighting immigration fraud. For example, @USCIS tweets “Immigration fraud is real and it threatens the integrity of our immigration system. We take reports of #ImmigrationFraud seriously. We're dedicated to

investigating fraud to ensure the safety and security of our nation," followed by a picture containing the words "Immigration fraud is a crime." The concordances for 'not' offer an interesting twist on the concordances seen so far as they tend to emphasize what 'you' cannot/should not do. For example, @USCIS tweets: "Do you have a question about your #immigration case? Please do not post personal information about yourself or someone else through comments on our social media pages. If you think you're a victim of immigration fraud, report it here: https://uscis.gov/report-fraud." Overall, the concordances for this grouping emphasize @USCIS' offering of information and help about online services people need and can access as well as providing information and asking for help in identifying immigration fraud.

The second grouping includes the following: 'we/our/us,' 'office/offices,' 'all,' and 'services.' The concordances for this grouping are focused on what USCIS is doing, is continuing to do and will not do. They also show @USCIS asking for help from their followers (rather like user input) concerning their online tools and website. The majority of the tweets in this grouping offer information on USCIS' actions. For example, @USCIS tweets: "To help slow the spread of COVID-19, we've temporarily suspended in-person services at our offices until on or after June 4. We'll work towards reopening our offices with your safety & the safety of our workforce in mind. Read more about our operations: https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/uscis-response-covid-19." The tweet includes a link to a page on their website where they discuss their response to the pandemic. As seen with this example, many of the tweets about USCIS' actions concern their responses to the pandemic. @USCIS also shares information about what they will not do in an effort to protect their followers from scammers. For example, they tweet: "Are you

receiving calls from us? They're real. However, we'll never ask you for money or immediate payment. If you've received these types of messages, they are a scam. Report it here: https://www.uscis.gov/avoid-scams/report-scams." Again, this tweet includes a link to a page on their website where users can report scams. As mentioned above, @USCIS also asks for users' input. For example, they tweet: "Do you want to help us shape the way our online services look in the future? Help us test our website features by registering here to receive alerts for future feedback sessions: http://uscis.gov/webtesters #USCIS." The included link takes users to their website where they can submit their contact information. Overall, the concordances in this grouping mostly emphasize @USCIS' actions as well as include their requests for user input on their tools and website.

The third grouping includes the following: 'rule,' and 'final.' The concordances for this grouping revolve around certain immigration laws. They tend to focus on the court's decision to allow the Public Charge rule to come into effect in early 2020. They also discuss courts' decisions about asylum claims. In the tweets involving the Public Charge rule, @USCIS tends to show why the rule makes sense by emphasizing how the rule enforces long-standing laws. They also discuss when the rule goes into effect and what factors USCIS will look at when enforcing the rule. One example of this Public Charge focus is: "Today the US government will fully implement the public charge rule. This rule implements long-standing law and American values by ensuring those who seek to immigrate to the US are self-reliant and do not take advantage of taxpayer-funded social services," with a link to the website https://www.dhs.gov/news/2020/02/24/dhs-implements-inadmissibility-public-charge-grounds-final-rule. Note that this tweet is

offering an argument seeking to validate the Public Charge rule. This third grouping also includes tweets where @USCIS discusses court decisions about asylum claims. For example, they tweet: "The high volume of non-meritorious credible fear claims made at the border dramatically slow down final decisions for those w/ legitimate grounds for asylum. Last fiscal year, on average, 12 of every 100 aliens claiming credible fear received asylum from an immigration judge," followed by a picture which shows this information graphically. Overall, the concordances in this grouping emphasize court decisions involving immigration, with a major focus on the controversial Public Charge rule.

The fourth grouping includes the following: 'about,' 'more,' and 'learn.' The concordances for this grouping revolve around sharing information on a broad range of topics. These topics include sharing information about African American history, #COVID19, #coronavirus, the federal response to #coronavirus, human trafficking, filing online, registration, different forms (like #FormI9), naturalizing through military service, online services, #immigration fraud and the H-1B registration process, among others. These topics can be grouped into coronavirus-related information, online services/tools, general immigration information (such as fraud and trafficking) and Black History month information. One example of this type of tweet is a poll with the question "Celebrate #AfricanAmericanHistoryMonth with us by testing your civics knowledge. This question comes from the naturalization test: What movement tried to end racial discrimination?" followed by the possibility of choosing among four answers, namely Women's Suffrage, Prohibition, Conservation, Civil Rights Movement. Overall, the concordances for this grouping emphasize the sharing of information.

Finally, table 6.7 features the words ‘covid/coronavirus,’ which is not surprising given the global pandemic that has been affecting the world since January 2020, and gathered attention in the US since March 2020. As I mentioned with @LIRSorg, the prominence of covid-19 related tweets points to Twitter being a good space for organizations to readily mention/discuss prominent current events. As seen through the concordances discussed above, the concordances for ‘coronavirus/covid’ revolve around @USCIS sharing health information about the pandemic. For example, they tweet: “Help protect yourself against misinformation and learn the facts. For the latest news and updates from federal, state and local government agencies on COVID-19 visit:https://www.usa.gov/coronavirus.” Note that here, @USCIS links to another government website rather than their own. @USCIS also heavily shares information about their responses to the pandemic, such as office closures and reopening and temporary changes to immigration rules, such as flexibility Form I-9 requirements for remote employees. @USCIS also shares information about the federal response to the pandemic as well as border protection during the pandemic. For example, @USCIS retweeted @WhiteHouse: “Acting Secretary Chad Wolf on the 3 key actions @DHSgov has taken to secure our borders during the Coronavirus pandemic,” followed by a short video of Wolf explaining these three actions. Finally, @USCIS continues sharing information about scammers, with references to the pandemic. For example, they tweet: “Even if you're staying home, remember to protect yourself from #immigration scams & fraud. Beware of scammers calling and demanding payment for immigration fees. We'll never call and ask you to pay immigration fees over the phone. https://go.usa.gov/xvyPv,

#AvoidScams." Overall, the pandemic featured in most tweets as from March whether @USCIS mentioned the pandemic directly or not.

Overall, this sub section examined the concordances for the top occurring words in @USCIS' tweets. The concordances suggest that @USCIS' tweets revolve around providing information about their website, their responses to COVID-19 and immigration rules, and asking for readers'/followers' help in identifying immigration fraud. In the next section, I detail the results of the second coding cycle.

Second Cycle of Coding: Categories - Advocacy (Shared Humanity), Information Sharing, and Reader/Follower Action

In this section, I discuss the results of the second cycle of coding. To recap, in the last section, I explored the top occurring words for @LIRSorg and @USCIS and the concordances surrounding these top occurring words. Following this, I wrote analytical memos from these words and concordances each week, for three weeks. This cycle gives me the broader categories that inform the tweets.

Two themes are apparent for @LIRSorg. These are:

- Advocacy
- Information sharing

In terms of advocacy, the analysis reveals a pattern of @LIRSorg emphasizing their shared humanity with immigrants. For example, they would share stories of immigrants, where immigrants are portrayed as people with similar needs as @LIRSorg's readers (especially during the pandemic). These stories are powerful tools to humanize immigrants in a time when many national figures, including key political actors, criminalize and demonize immigrants. The inclusion of these humanizing stories is

critical to portraying migrants in a socially just way (Ding & Savage, 2012; Jones, Moore & Walton, 2016). That is, @LIRSorg's tweets amplify the voices of migrants. Thus, they constantly use their tweets to shape the national conversation about immigration, offering a strong pro-immigration stance. This shared humanity also translates into @LIRSorg asking their readers/followers to take action to protect/help migrants. Hence, they are calling on their readers/followers to advocate for migrants.

In terms of information sharing, the analysis reveals that @LIRSorg often functions as a source of migration news. They regularly keep track of immigration laws and policies, and most importantly, they show their own actions (e.g. legal action) and reactions to these laws and policies. Thus, their role as information providers functions closely alongside their role as immigration advocates.

Two themes are also apparent for @USCIS. These are:

- Information sharing
- Reader/follower action

In terms of information sharing, the analysis reveals that @USCIS mainly uses its Twitter account to inform its audiences about its various tools and services, with an emphasis on online tools and services. This includes the series of changes to its operations as well as some policy changes due to Covid-19. On a slightly different note on information sharing, @USCIS also repeatedly uses its account to share general immigration information about various issues, such as the controversial Public Charge rule, immigration fraud and scammers.

In terms of reader/follower action, the analysis reveals that @USCIS regularly calls on their followers to share information about immigration fraud. Particularly

interesting for TPC practitioners, @USCIS also regularly asks their followers to provide user input on their online tools and website, thus recruiting usability tests participants. Overall, whether @USCIS is sharing information or asking for reader/follower action, their tweets mostly revolve around the agency's services, tools and mission.

Overall, the common theme for Twitter across both organizations is information sharing. However, the kinds of information shared differ, with @LIRSorg emphasizing changing the policies that harm migrants and @USCIS emphasizing its own services and tools.

Key Points and Conclusions

Social media is a powerful tool for migration studies to examine. It is particularly important for the study of migration and TPC. As Longo (2014) wrote:

> As we embrace these tools for sharing information and making knowledge with users in global contexts, we need to consider how we can build platforms for mutual contributions from not only professionals who officially design media and content but also media users whose lives are affected by these designs. These users' practices for making and sharing information effectively redefine our work. p. 23

As Longo suggested, social media users' lives are affected by the design of social media platforms and their content. In this chapter, I highlighted how immigration organizations use Twitter and the kinds of information they disseminate there. The kinds of information they disseminate can have a meaningful impact on the lives of their followers.

Overall, two key themes emerge for each organization. @LIRSorg's tweets often feature advocacy and information sharing while @USCIS' tweets often feature

information sharing and follower/reader action. The common theme is information sharing. However, the kinds of information shared differ, with @LIRSorg emphasizing changing the policies that harm migrants and @USCIS emphasizing its own services and tools.

Each organization seems to be targeting different audiences as well. @LIRSorg seems to be targeting US residents who can be called on to advocate for migrants. A minor audience is migrants themselves, who are informed of the ways @LIRSorg is fighting against unjust migration policies. However, this information is not directly useful to migrants in their migration journeys since migrants typically benefit from information that would help ease their migration journeys (see e.g. Gillespie et al., 2016). On the other hand, @USCIS seems to be targeting migrants as their main audiences as they refer followers to their website. A minor, but significant audience, is US residents who would police migrants as they are asked to report migration fraud. While @USCIS' calls for reporting migration scams seems to serve migrants, their calls to report migration fraud seems designed to enable US residents to profile migrants.

While both organizations use their social media on a regular basis and make good use of Twitter-specific tools, like hashtags, there are several missed opportunities. Both organizations could improve their engagement with their followers/readers since Twitter can potentially be used more interactively by organizations (Saffer, Sommerfeldt & Taylor, 2013; Shin, Pang & Kim, 2015; Zhang, Gosselt & de Jong, 2020). @LIRSorg somewhat engages with their followers through their calls to action. By calling on their followers to ask for legislative change, they use their Twitter account as a tool to emphasize that followers are not mere consumers of information but can take action and

influence the fates of immigrants who depend on these legislative changes. However, @LIRSorg could work on targeting migrants as an audience. By using their Twitter platform to inform their followers about the services they offer, they would be in a position to target an audience made up of migrants themselves. While using Twitter for recruiting migrant advocates is a great strategy in light of current negative immigration discourses in the country, @LIRSorg could use their account to more directly serve migrants as well since migrants' use of Twitter during their migration journeys has been well documented (see Borkert, Fisher & Yafi, 2018; Emmer, Kunst & Richter, 2020; Fiedler, 2016; Gillespie et al., 2016). The engagement issue is particularly problematic for @USCIS who almost never replies to their followers. While no private information (e.g. specific cases) can be discussed on such a public space as Twitter, @USCIS' lack of response makes the agency seem rather like a closed-off faceless agency to migrants desperately looking for information and not finding any replies to their questions. Therefore, switching from using Twitter as a marketing tool to Twitter as an engagement tool could be beneficial for @USCIS' target audience of migrants.

Limitations

One of the key questions that emerge following this analysis is how are people (especially migrants) interacting with these immigration organizations. As a next step after this dissertation, I propose to examine the tweets being directed toward each immigration organization. An additional next step would be to interview migrants to ask them how they use social media to interact with immigration organizations in the US. While this work has been done in Europe, for example, there hasn't been much work done on social media use with migrants in the US. Finally, another step would involve

examining tweets from immigration organizations collected at a different period of time to assess how Covid-19 might have impacted the results observed in this study. These steps would help give a more complete picture of the role of social media in migration in the US, with both migrants' use of social media as well as how others participate in migration discourse through social media.

In the next chapter, I discuss the implications of this work and offer concluding remarks based on the analysis I have conducted throughout this dissertation.

Chapter 7: Implications and Conclusions

This final chapter provides a summary of this dissertation project and discusses the implications of the project. I also discuss the limitations to the study. Finally, I provide some future research directions for technical and professional communication research in the area of migration in digital spaces.

Summary of Dissertation

This dissertation addresses the following main research question: how do immigration organizations use their online presence to disseminate information? In addition to this central question, companion questions include the following:

- How do immigration organizations form a network providing immigration information online?
- Focusing on a few select organizations' websites: what information do they contain? What are their stated purposes, features and display? Who are their target audiences?
- Focusing on a few select organizations' Twitter accounts: how do immigration organizations use their Twitter accounts? What information do their tweets contain? Who are their target audiences?
- How do these organizations' Twitter accounts function alongside their websites?

To address these questions, I relied on the following literatures: social justice, social network analysis, social media analysis, web design and content strategy.

In the first analytical chapter, the organizational network analysis chapter of the dissertation, I identified a network of national immigration organizations. I then identified two immigration organizations central to the network, namely the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) and United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). In the website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters of the dissertation, I studied the websites and tweets from these two organizations. In the website analysis chapter, I analyzed the websites of LIRS (https://www.lirs.org/) and USCIS (https://www.uscis.gov/). In the Twitter analysis chapter, I analyzed the twitter accounts of LIRS (@LIRSorg) and USCIS (@USCIS).

These analyses provide insight into how immigration organizations are using their online presence to disseminate information. In particular, the organizational network analysis chapter offered insight into the network connecting national non-profit immigration organizations in the US and those organizations which are important to that online network. The website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters offered insight into the kinds of information that the two key immigrant organizations (LIRS and USCIS) were disseminating online and the audiences they targeted on their websites and Twitter. The kinds of information were often aligned with the goals or missions of each organization. Finally, both organizations used their websites differently than the ways they used their Twitter accounts (see table 7.1), showing that these two spaces functioned differently for both organizations. For example, USCIS used its Twitter to direct its readers/followers back to their website for immigration actions, such as filing forms.

Table 7.1 summarizes the key themes emerging from the analysis in the previous chapters (i.e. the website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters).

Table 7.1

Summary of Key Themes from the Analysis

Organizations	LIRS	USCIS
Twitter Analysis	- Advocacy - Information-sharing	- Information-sharing - Reader/follower action
Website Analysis	- Visitor action/ engagement	- Information-sharing/ publishing - Visitor action / information processing

Implications of the Analyses

Below I discuss the key implications of this dissertation's findings.

Voice, Power and Privilege

The social justice context asks us to pay attention to issues of power and privilege (Ding & Savage, 2012; Jones, Moore & Walton, 2016). It asks us to pay attention to whose voices are being included and whose are being silenced. As Parvin (2018) noted, "stories [of refugees can] be shared with the larger community to humanize those who are marginalized, secure resources to help them meet their day-to-day needs, or serve as a catalyst for political change" (p. 517). @LIRSorg repeatedly features the stories of migrants, where immigrants are portrayed as people with similar needs as @LIRSorg's readers (especially during the pandemic). These stories are powerful tools to humanize immigrants in a time when many national figures (in politics and the media) have been

criminalizing and demonizing immigrants. Thus, @LIRSorg constantly uses their tweets to shape the national conversation about immigration, offering a strong pro-immigration stance. Similarly, LIRS' website repeatedly features migrant voices and images. While the website itself does not target migrants in need of immigration help, the inclusion of migrant voices and images on the website helps 'put a face' so to speak to the migrants that LIRS aims to help through the contributions (financial and time) it seeks through its website. Therefore, through its Twitter account and website, LIRS aims at reinforcing the message that migrants are humans too. The organization reiterates this shared humanity throughout its online platforms.

Indeed, LIRS' use of these stories reinforces its message that migrants are humans whose voices matter. However, Parvin (2018) also cautioned us to focus on reciprocity (which relates to transparency, ownership and mutual consent), responsiveness (which relates to vulnerability, uncertainty and situatedness) and communion (which is "an invitation to messy entanglements and to embrace the intra-actional nature of relationships and the dialogical form of storytelling and listening") when engaging in digital storytelling. As such, providing more context behind the stories LIRS includes on its website and Twitter account demonstrates reciprocity and responsiveness; i.e. it would give site visitors and Twitter followers more information about the narrators' situations and the interplay between the narrators and LIRS (or between the narrators and LIRS' content management team).

Examining one's work is another key element to social justice work in technical and professional communication. Agboka (2014) noted the following:

> question our own assumptions; make participants active collaborators in research projects by positioning them—not as subjects/objects, but as equal participants; employ reflexive research methods; be critical of our own approaches; question our insider posture, even when we claim to be native to the research site; and be humble in our contacts with participants. (p. 299)

Therefore, as LIRS examines how it uses migrant stories on its online platforms, they can follow a social justice approach of questioning their assumptions. They can also invite migrants whose voices or images they want to include as collaborators on their content management team. Doing so might help LIRS understand how migrants wish for their stories to be told (Parvin, 2018). Such collaboration is another way of including migrant voices - not just as stories to be shared but as individuals actively contributing to creating content. I argue that immigration organizations can work closely with migrants, not just in aiding them in their migration, but also in shaping the stories and content these immigration organizations share/disseminate in online spaces.

Borkert, Fisher and Yafi (2018) noted that migrants act as both producers and consumers of information on social media and in digital social networks. As producers of information, Witteborn (2015) noted that migrants position themselves legally, socioculturally and politically through social media, through a process she calls 'becoming.' She noted that Facebook is primarily used "to construct a narrative that boosts the self as a loved, admired, networked one - images which contrast starkly with the realities of forced migrants and their lives as a bureaucratically quantifiable category expressed through food rations and defined living space" (p. 357). Witteborn wrote that "this [virtual performance] assisted people living through extended periods of waiting

and enabled them to network on their own terms" (p. 357). Therefore, the stories of migrants that LIRS shares on its online platforms can be powerful performances and spaces of identity constructions for migrants. Because these stories are shared via the immigration organization, they can reach a broader audience, which makes them even more powerful tools of becoming. Since storytelling can be so powerful for migrants, it becomes even more crucial for immigration organizations to collaborate with migrants when sharing their stories and thereby respect and honor their agencies.

The stories that migrants share can be powerful sources of information for other migrants in the midst of their immigration journeys. Borkert, Fisher and Yafi (2018) noted that the most trusted sources of information for migrants consist of social ties with migrants who have successfully migrated. Therefore, storytelling that is meaningful to other migrants is needed in online spaces. In particular, immigration organizations, such as LIRS and USCIS, can collaborate with migrants to share stories that would be helpful to other migrants (that other migrants need/want to hear). Again, given the reach that immigration organizations (especially if they work together) can have online, they are poised to be important spaces for other migrants to turn to in order to hear the stories of migration they're seeking.

Note that, while LIRS has included migrant voices, stories and images on its online platforms, USCIS does not do so on either its website or Twitter account. Given the importance of including the voices of marginalized individuals, especially when an organization works so closely with these marginalized individuals, this is a serious omission on USCIS' part. The only voices USCIS amplifies come from other government organizations, such as the Department of State, White House and CDC, or key

government figures, such as Chad Wolf (former acting US Secretary of Homeland Security). This gives USCIS the impression of being an organization in a communication bubble with other government agencies. The lack of stories and narratives reinforces the sense that USCIS is a 'faceless' bureaucratic organization, who is out of touch with the people whose papers they process (i.e. immigrants). Since stories of migration and migrants are so important, I argue that government agencies who work with migrants should endeavor to collaborate with migrants and provide spaces for such storytelling. Doing so might show that these agencies envision migrants as more than paperwork. Thus, including these stories might ease other (i.e. new) migrants' apprehensions in dealing with these agencies, who have so much power in shaping migrants' lives and futures.

Online spaces can then be powerful spaces for social justice and storytelling. Witteborn (2015) noted that technologies "can be seen as central political action tools, which create evolving forms of collective mobilization that challenge concepts of border through information sharing, transnational grouping and political learning" (p. 364). Witteborn thus argued that online platforms can serve as political tools that allow migrants to enact their agencies. I argue that immigration organizations, and their online platforms, can play an important role in sharing stories of migrants and migration. However, immigration organizations need to do so in a spirit of listening, collaboration and reflection to be truly social just endeavors.

Audience Engagement

Engagement with online audiences is a key theme that permeates through both the Twitter and website analyses chapters of this dissertation. Social media, such as Twitter,

facilitates conversations and can often bring strangers together over some topic. It follows then, that organizations can use Twitter to engage in conversations with stakeholders (Saffer, Sommerfeldt & Taylor, 2013; Shin, Pang & Kim, 2015; Zhang, Gosselt & de Jong, 2020). Rybalko and Seltzer (2010) wrote:

> We argue that other social networking sites such as Facebook and YouTube as well as a company's blog could be perceived as part of a company's extended social networking presence. Thus links to Facebook, Flickr, YouTube, the company's social networking sites, and the company's blog should be considered part of conservation of visitors. p. 338.

This indicates that social media sites can play a key role in how often visitors return to an organization's sites (website as well as its social media accounts). That is, social media can help organizations build long-lasting relationships with their audiences. After all, as Taylor, Kent and White (2001) argued, "relationship building requires time, trust, and a variety of other relational maintenance strategies that can only occur over repeated interactions" (p. 370).

However, few organizations, whether for-profit or non-profit ones, use Twitter to engage in such conversations (Lovejoy, Waters & Saxton, 2012; Rybalko & Seltzer, 2010). For instance, Lovejoy, Waters, and Saxton (2012) found "only minimal evidence of interactivity and relationship-building" (p. 316) on non-profit organizations' Twitter accounts. This dissertation confirms these findings. @LIRSorg, a non-profit, shows minimal interactivity and relationship-building with its readers/followers. When @LIRSorg chooses to respond, they mostly respond to other immigration organizations or individuals involved with immigration, such as immigration lawyers. However, given

the work showing the potential for conversations on Twitter, @LIRSorg could work towards interacting more frequently with more users, and thus, potentially increase the impact of their organization. This would likely require LIRS to hire a technical and professional communicator devoted to social media communication. Since their goal on their website is to recruit and build long-term relationships with advocates/volunteers for their mission/cause, it follows that building relationships with these groups on Twitter can be particularly beneficial. They might even reach different or younger audiences through generating conversations and building relationships on Twitter. Similarly, @USCIS shows no/minimal interaction with readers/followers. Like LIRS, USCIS is not tapping into the full potential for interaction that social media provides. Therefore, @USCIS could also work towards interacting more frequently with users. Again, this would likely require USCIS to hire one or more technical and professional communicators devoted to social media communication. Given its mission of administering the immigration system in the US, interacting with users on Twitter might help USCIS better understand users' needs (see Breuch, 2018; McGuire & Kampf, 2015).

A key component of online engagement is websites. As discussed above, encouraging visitors to return to an organization's online accounts (i.e. for conservation of visitors) is essential to online engagement (Park & Reber, 2008). Yet, organizations rarely use their websites to their fullest potential for encouraging conversations (Park & Reber, 2008; Sommerfeldt, Kent & Taylor, 2012; Waters & Lemanski, 2011). This is in direct opposition to how website developers are taught to engage with users in technical and professional communication (Redish, 2012). Content management teams can use

various means to encourage visitors to continue coming back to a website. Taylor, Kent and White (2001) described the following:

> Features of Web sites that encourage visitors to return include: providing links to other activist Web sites; appealing to visitors with explicit statements inviting them to return; encouraging visitors to "bookmark this page now" to facilitate easy return; the announcement of regularly scheduled news forums; providing visitors with question and answer forums; including calendars of events; offering visitors downloadable and regularly updated, information; offering visitors information that can be automatically delivered through regular mail or e-mail; and the posting of news stories within the last 30 days. P. 370

Compared to social media, websites are often seen as "passive communication tools that must be supplemented with traditional public relations practices" by activist organizations (Sommerfeldt, Kent & Taylor, 2012). Thus, websites are seen as information dissemination tools. Sommerfeldt, Kent and Taylor (2012) also found that these activist organizations see their websites as catering to "existing and highly involved publics" (p. 303). This dissertation confirms this finding; LIRS' website does not offer many opportunities for conversations and often focuses on engaging site visitors with offline activities (i.e. activities conducted in physical spaces). Seo, Kim and Yang (2009) found that "promoting the organization's image and fund-raising [are] the two most important functions of new media [i.e. digital media]" for the transnational [non-governmental organizations] they've studied (p. 123). Again, this mirrors this dissertation's findings about LIRS' use of its website (i.e. providing an overview of its work and encouraging site visitors towards time and monetary contributions).

Similarly, the USCIS website functions mostly as an information disseminating tool (Sommerfeldt, Kent & Taylor, 2012). It does not offer many opportunities for conversations, even as it often engages site visitors with online activities (e.g. filing immigration forms online or checking statuses online) and offline activities (downloading forms and mailing those and contacting field offices). Therefore, USCIS is not using their website to its fullest potential for encouraging conversations.

To take full advantage of the opportunities of digital spaces, organizations need to develop more usable websites. Getto, Potts, Salvo, and Gossett (2013) argued that UX developers need "to design products that are not only usable, but will be used once they are launched" (p. 65). Thus, ideally, websites will be used once they are launched. However, LIRS' site visitors are not using its comment sections on their blog pages. Sommerfeldt, Kent and Taylor (2012) noted:

> Effective, dialogic websites still require content, strategic thinking, integration into existing and future [advertising] campaigns, the guidance of a skilled communicator capable of understanding how to appeal to multiple publics, creation of a navigational interface that visitors will find compelling, and efforts to provide content that visitors want to see. (p. 310)

An organizational content management team, who works on the website using the structure for developing their core content strategy that Halvorson and Rach (2012) outlined, might successfully develop an effective, dialogic website (see Redish, 2010). Combining examining their core content strategy with some usability testing might be particularly helpful when redesigning the LIRS website, leading to visitors actually using the site's blog and comment sections.

The question that we might ask ourselves is: should LIRS care whether site visitors use their comment sections? Beyond the potential advantages discussed above, the answer partly lies in the overall goal LIRS has for its website. LIRS might review its content strategy and determine that it does not want user participation on its site. After all, a lack of engagement with audiences can be due to lack of organizational preference rather than lack of organizational resources, time or expertise (Waters & Lemanski, 2011, p. 164). However, the fact that the organization has already chosen to include these comment sections (at least for their blog pages) suggests that LIRS wants to engage with their audiences on their website. After all, since privileging user experience as lived experience is important to social justice in design work (Petersen & Walton, 2018; Walton, 2016), creating spaces where individuals can share their experiences seems particularly important to an organization who focuses on advocacy for a marginalized group (i.e. immigrants). In addition, creating these spaces might help towards community building in these online environments. Finally, LIRS has already shown its enthusiasm to work with others towards fulfilling its mission. That is, LIRS lists its partners on its website and provides clear ways for site visitors to volunteer (both time and money). Building spaces for site visitors to collaborate, then, seems natural. After all, as Lugmayr, Reymann, Kemper, Dorsch and Roman (2008) wrote: "User-generated content is a matter of collaboration. Consumers collaborate to generate new content in any imaginable form. Thus in this context, collaboration means to work in cooperation to achieve a specific goal" (p. 518). Therefore, creating an environment where site visitors can share their lived experiences, build community and collaborate can be particularly useful for LIRS whose work is to build advocacy.

However, LIRS might need a better user-generated content strategy. Getto and Labriola (2019) argued that a content management team "needs a working knowledge of user-generated content strategy, or the development of strategies for the creation, publication, and governance of useful, usable content that encourage user participation" to successfully implement a user-generated content strategy. They went on to argue that these teams "must also understand the role of content moderation in facilitating development of user-generated content" (p. 385). Therefore, LIRS' problem with their comment sections might lie in a failed user-generated content strategy. Thus, I would recommend/suggest that the organization does the following:

- Review its goals for its website, especially in light of its broader online presence,
- Revise its core content strategy accordingly,
- Revise its user-generated content strategy,
- Revise its website content and design accordingly,
- Perform usability testing to study the performance of its website, and
- Repeat steps 3-5 as needed to achieve the goals determined in steps 1 and 2.

The situation is somewhat different with USCIS. The USCIS website does not feature any space for conversations from site visitors. This suggests that USCIS is not interested in building such user-generated content on its website (i.e. organizational preference per Waters & Lemanski, 2011). This is in line with other federal government websites. However, I argue that revisiting this practice might help humanize USCIS (and potentially any other government agency who does so as well). Since the USCIS website

has high traffic (after all, it is the organization in charge of administering the immigration system nationally), it will likely need a large team of moderators if it implements areas for user-generated content on its platform. USCIS might perform usability tests to determine what kinds of spaces its audiences need on its website. Responding to users' needs might help it carry out its mission more efficiently. Conducting further research after implementing changes to accommodate audiences' needs might enable USCIS to better understand how its audiences are imagining and using its online platforms.

Engaging with Migrants.

Finally, LIRS might reconsider the audiences it targets through its online presence. The analyses done in the website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters show that LIRS targets mainly US residents who can advocate for migrants and/or contribute to LIRS' mission through monetary or time contributions. Neither the website nor the Twitter account targets migrants themselves. LIRS addresses migrants only through briefly discussing how they're working for/with migrants (mostly on the website) and how they are fighting against unjust migration policies (mostly on Twitter). However, this information is not directly useful to migrants in their migration journeys since migrants typically benefit from information that would help ease their migration journeys (see e.g. Gillespie et al., 2016). Gillespie et al. wrote: "access to information about where to seek help and a phone call can often make the difference between life and death (for example, for an entire boat of people or a family)" (p. 11). Having trusted people and organizations provide aid, then, is much needed for migrants during migration - at least for migrants in Europe. I argue that immigration organizations could make content relevant to migrants more readily available on their websites and social media accounts.

Having said that, more research is needed to fully understand how different migrant groups use online networks in the US.

In terms of audience engagement, providing spaces for migrants to form communities and engage with organizations and each other is important. Borkert, Fisher and Yafi (2018) found that refugees overwhelmingly gather information about their migration via social media (namely, Facebook, WhatsApp, or Viber). Similarly, Emmer, Kunst and Richter (2020) noted that public forums play a key role both in learning about migrants' experiences coming to Germany and relating their own migration experiences (p. 10). While migrants can undoubtedly use social media (i.e. spaces where strangers can freely share information) to engage with each other, it might be helpful for immigration organizations to provide spaces where migrants can come to for these discussions.

Finally, different online spaces serve different functions for migrants. Charmarkeh (2013) noted that social media and traditional media have different functions for Somalis in France, with social media linked to mobility and used for finding a safe refuge, while traditional media serve as information sources about France and French culture (p. 50). Therefore, immigration organizations, such as LIRS, might review how to use its different online platforms to address the different needs of migrant audiences. Of course, how different migrant groups use different platforms might depend on their regions of origin (see Emmer, Kunst and Richter, 2020).

While a government agency like USCIS has a different role in the immigration system, it can still provide more spaces for engagement with migrant audiences. Overall, USCIS does count migrants as its primary audience, both on its website and on Twitter. While the information it provides on its website is thorough, the information it shares on

Twitter often lacks depth. Gillespie et al. (2016) argued that government agencies can provide better resources to migrants. These resources include easier access to information about the support systems and organizations that can help them, as they "navigate their journeys through … systems, institutions, culture, language and way of life" (p. 11). Thus, USCIS can also play a more prominent role in providing key immigration information on social media. @USCIS tends to direct readers/followers to their website, but having more informative social media posts might be useful to migrants. Granted, sensitive information (such as migrants' individual cases) cannot be discussed safely on social media platforms. However, @USCIS can output some of the current news information they share on their website to their Twitter account. After all, preliminary analysis into the content of the replies that @USCIS receives suggests that migrants do want to engage with the organization on that platform. Therefore, USCIS could more proactively engage migrants in conversations on its social media accounts. This is particularly important because its website, while providing multiple resources, lacks spaces where migrants can engage in conversation with the organization.

COVID-19

The analysis in this dissertation shows the importance of the COVID-19 pandemic in the online presence of LIRS and USCIS. The Twitter analysis chapter, in particular, reveals the top ranking words for both organizations around March 25, which centered around issues linked to Covid-19. The coronavirus also featured prominently among the hashtags throughout the entire period of data collection. @LIRSorg mostly focused on providing information about immigrants in difficult situations (such as issues migrants in detention centers face related to Covid-19) and calling people to take action

in immigration issues. While also focusing on Covid-19, @USCIS tended to provide information on the services people can access/use and how USCIS is responding to the pandemic (such as suspending in-person services). While both organizations rely on Twitter during that period to provide information specifically related to Covid-19, the type of information again differs. The website analysis chapter also reveals that the pandemic influenced the content of USCIS' website. The website featured updates about the impacts of the virus and USCIS' (as well as other government agencies') responses to the pandemic. LIRS' website, on the other hand, was less responsive to the pandemic, with hardly any mentions of the pandemic, except in its blog pages. This suggests that USCIS, who has more resources than LIRS, could respond more easily to the crisis of the pandemic, especially on media that tend to take more work to edit (i.e. websites).

The ways organizations respond to crises are important to how audiences perceive them. Yang, Kang & Johnson (2010) noted that "data suggest that the openness to dialogic communication is essential to creating and enhancing audience engagement in crisis communication, which, in turn, leads to positive post crisis perceptions" (p. 473). Social media, in particular, can be powerful tools in times of crisis (Bowdon, 2014; Liu, Lai & Xu, 2018; Muralidharan, Rasmussen, Patterson, & Shin, 2011; Potts, 2009; 2013; Starbird & Palen, 2010). This dissertation confirms these findings that online platforms, especially social media, can be great resources in times of crisis. I argue that providing more spaces for conversations online and actively engaging with their audiences during crises, like the COVID-19 pandemic, might also help immigration organizations' public image, post-crisis. That is, audiences might have more positive perceptions of these immigration organizations if they show more engagement, especially through social

media, during crises. Hence, the discussion above about storytelling and audience engagement becomes even more relevant during crises.

Limitations and Future Directions

Throughout the dissertation, I have outlined the limitations of the study for each of the analysis chapters (i.e. the organizational network analysis, website analysis and Twitter analysis chapters). I offer a brief summary of these as well as directions for future research in this section.

The first limitation in this dissertation is the lack of interviews with the people doing content management work for LIRS and USCIS. Interviews would help provide insight into why organizations (like LIRS) central to the network share more connections to others compared to those on the periphery of the network. They would also help with gaining a deeper understanding of each organization's core content strategy, their use of usability testing and involvement of target audiences during website design. Finally, interviews would help with understanding tweeting frequency, and each organization's Twitter policies on content, and audience engagement and interaction.

On a slightly different note, interviewing site visitors and Twitter readers/followers would shed light on how migrants in the US use websites and social media during their migration journeys, and what they expect from immigration advocates and government agencies. These interviews could also show whether/how migrants move from an organization's social media account to its website and vice versa. Previous research has shown that migrants in the EU use online resources, such as social media, during their migration (Emmer, Kunst & Richter, 2020; Dekker et al., 2018; Witteborn,

2015). Future research could work with migrants in the US to determine their use of websites, social media, and other online spaces during their migration.

The second limitation in this dissertation is that I have accessed, and therefore studied, all these online platforms via my laptop rather than with multiple devices (for example, a mobile phone, or tablet). Future research could study how the content on these platforms and its impact change across devices. For example, future research could address whether the viewing experience of a visitor accessing the social media accounts and sites from a smartphone or tablet is comparable to the experience of a visitor accessing the social media accounts and sites from a computer? This is a particularly important question given that previous research has shown that migrants (especially in the EU) rely heavily on their mobile devices before, during and after migration (Borkert, Fisher & Yafi, 2018; Dekker et al., 2018; Gillespie et al., 2016). Therefore, future research can examine information and experiences across devices and platforms.

Technical and Professional Communication and Future Directions

There's a rich intersection of work that we can continue to build on with migration in the US and technical and professional communication. As TPC scholars, we have long worked with texts in different spaces, including in digital spaces. Given the likely rise in migration (Coleman, 2006) and the work that TPC does with texts, continued research into migrants' use of information and communication technologies is needed. As immigration organizations and their online presence becomes more prominent, these information and communication technologies become important sites for social justice. The social justice lens in technical and professional communication can

help reduce power differentials around the creation, use and distribution of texts in these digital spaces.

I next discuss future research in TPC that can examine how migrants in the US interact with information and communication technologies. One possible study involves repeating the Twitter analysis done in this dissertation with the inclusion of tweets from readers/followers (i.e. replies to immigration organizations' tweets). TAGS already collects all these readers/followers tweets and their metadata. The themes emerging from these tweets will shed light on the issues that readers/followers are most interested in and the kinds of questions they ask on Twitter.

Another possible study involves following a few key immigration-related hashtags, such as #immigration, and collecting tweets based on these hashtags. Such a study will shed light on how conversations evolve over time around a particular hashtag. One potential issue would be determining which hashtags to follow. After all, while some hashtags, such as #RefugeesWelcome, persist over time, others trend depending on particular events, such as #PublicCharge. Therefore, a study looking at hashtags will first need to determine which hashtags are more prominent, with the caveat that such hashtags might be more prominent among some audiences than others.

A third possible study involves turning to other social media platforms to examine both content from immigration organizations and from migrants. Facebook has long been studied by social media scholars in TPC (Breuch, 2018; Roundtree, 2016; Shin, Pang & Kim, 2015). Therefore, Facebook is a promising platform for this study. Instagram and Tik Tok, which have different uses and goals, might also be particularly useful in offering insight into how immigration information and conversations happen in those different

online spaces (which prioritize pictures for Instagram and short videos for Tik Tok). Finally, WhatsApp, a prominent messaging and voice over IP platform, might also be a promising platform to study, especially because of the popularity of group messages, which allows for individuals in the group to chime in and share their thoughts and experiences. However, this platform might be tricky to study because many groups are private. Therefore, any study involving WhatsApp would require prior relationship-building, trust-building and informed consent (with IRB approval) with migrants involved in any such group.

Finally, a fourth possible study involves working directly with migrants in the US. This study can ask migrants about their use of information and communication technologies. This study could also extend into examining migrants' description of their migrant social networks and the role information and communication technologies play in these networks. This study would also require building trust and a relationship with migrant communities. The design used in this study would ideally be a participatory-type research. I envision this study as drawing on the body of work on human-centered design and social justice in technical and professional communication. This type of study would complement the text-based studies described above in shedding light on how migrants use digital spaces.

Overall, these studies will help fill in the gap in social justice and migration in TPC. These studies will also help technical and professional communicators better address the needs of a growing group of audiences: migrants. Finally, through doing more social justice research, we can better refine the field's understanding of social justice and its applications to the work we do, whether in academia (with the type of

research we do, and the ways and texts we teach), or in industry (with the audiences and texts we prioritize).

The Future of Migration and Technical and Professional Communication

To conclude, the field of technical and professional communication has much to offer to the interdisciplinary area of migration (Hollifield, 2020). We have already started that work in important ways; yet, there is a lot left to be done. Given our unique technical communication skills, especially our work in social justice, social media, and information design, I believe that we can contribute much to the nexus between migration and technical and professional communication. As the numbers of migrants grow worldwide, it is our duty and responsibility as technical communicators, and social justice advocates, to ensure that we better understand and serve the needs of this important and varied group of people.

As I continue working with issues surrounding migration within technical and professional communication (such as information and communication technologies in migration), social justice remains a key framework to guide my work. In this dissertation, social justice has been instrumental in understanding the information that immigration organizations were disseminating in online spaces. This dissertation research has highlighted the importance of bringing humanity to discussions of migration. It has also shown the power that migration stories can have in digital spaces for different audiences. I hope that technical and professional communicators working in migration, whether with governmental or nonprofit organizations, can advocate for creating digital spaces where these humanizing stories and voices can flourish. As a technical and professional

communicator and an immigrant myself, I hope to see an increased focus on migrants as audiences we serve in the work we do in technical and professional communication.

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